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- I have been a Co-op member since January 1, 1979. Over the course of the years,
 I've served the Co-op in numerous positions, including:
 - a. Merchandising Coordinator ("MC"): 1985-2000
 - b. Staff Observer to the Board: 1995-1996
 - c. Merchandising Coordination Action Team ("MCAT"): 2007-2009
 - d. Staff Representative to the Board of Directors: September 2010, November 2010, December 2010.
- As the Merchandising Coordinator, I coordinated boycott requests, investigations, and decisions for many years, from the late 1980s until almost the time when the position was replaced by the MCAT, in the mid-2000s.
- 3. I stopped doing the boycott work when I stepped down from the MC position, but resumed that work soon afterwards, upon joining the MCAT when it was created in the mid-2000s. The MCAT took over the responsibility for boycott work from the MC.
- 4. I wrote the current boycott policy, dated May 1993, and all substantive changes to it. The policy references "nationally recognized boycotts" to differentiate boycott decisions from "run of the mill" product selection decisions, emphasizing the Coop's commitment to reform movement politics and human rights in product selection decisions. The phrase excludes from consideration requests for boycotts originating exclusively from within the Co-op. This was my rationale for including the phrase, "nationally recognized boycotts." I explained this rationale in presenting the proposed boycott policy to the staff and board. No one on staff or the Board requested deleting or modifying this phrase.
- 5. The boycott policy, attached to my declaration as Exhibit A, describes the information to be collected by the staff when reviewing and preparing a boycott

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request:

A: Who is calling the boycott;

B: How to contact them;

C: Basic outline of the issues involved;

D: Parameters of the boycott (what products are specifically involved); and

E: What will end the boycott.

The policy does <u>not</u> require the staff to collect any information about who has already decided to honor the call for boycott. This omission leaves the staff the flexibility to adopt a boycott without regard to whether any other organization has already committed to honor the call for boycott. In other words, the policy permits us to adopt a boycott based solely on the humanitarian issues that the boycott seeks to address.

- During my years as MC and on the MCAT, I reviewed, researched, and presented
 to the staff nearly all of the written boycott proposals, for consensus decisionmaking.
- 7. In the meetings at which I presented boycott proposals, there was never an objection to any proposed boycott on the ground that the organization calling for the boycott was not a national organization, or that only a single organization had called for the boycott, or that the organization was an international one, rather than a national one.
- 8. Similarly, there was never an objection at any staff meeting to any proposed boycott on the ground that the Co-op would or might be the first organization to honor the call for boycott.
- 9. Neither the board nor the staff, including Plaintiffs who served on the board and staff, objected to any proposed boycott on the ground that it was not a "nationally

- recognized boycott" during my years as the staff person responsible for administering the Co-op's boycott actions.
- 10. I wrote the China boycott proposal, which was adopted by staff consensus despite concerns about a products boycott against China. This particular decision caused substantial consequences to the Co-op: We were unable to carry pine nuts and lost two-thirds of our housewares product lines. This boycott was adopted with the stated intent to maintain it in effect until China begins to recognize the human rights of the Tibetan people. It continues in effect, to this day.
- 11. I presented the proposal to boycott Israeli products to the Staff and was present at Staff meetings held to discuss the issue. The informational package distributed to Staff for those meetings is attached to Harry Levine's declaration as Exhibit L. I reviewed the information in this packet before presenting it to the Staff, and I also reviewed the information packet that was presented to the Board for its review before its July 2010 meeting. These packets presented lots of information showing that the proposed Israel boycott was endorsed by a number of national organizations; hundreds of international organizations, including Israeli organizations; European governments, banks, and state pension funds; and world-famous U.S. and foreign citizens, ranging from Naomi Klein to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, from Gil Scott-Heron to Elvis Costello and Santana.
- 12. I was present at the Board's July 2010 meeting, where it considered this information, as well as vigorous in-person support for the proposal by the local Olympia BDS support organization. The information packet that Levine compiled for the Board's July 2010 meeting is attached as Exhibit B to my declaration. The

"Cairo Statement" dated January 2010, which was included in the packet, was a call for BDS by prominent U.S. and international organizations as an expression of sympathy and solidarity with Palestinians, especially those trapped in the Gaza Strip. This statement was included as pages 35-36 of the July 15, 2010 boycott information package submitted to the Board for its review at its July 2010 meeting,

- 13. I had also examined, at the time, the web site of the U.S. Campaign to End the Occupation, in Washington D.C., which named hundreds of its own U.S. member organizations, as supporters for its campaigns, including boycotts against Motorola, Caterpillar, and other companies in the U.S. and around the world that were profiting from Israel's occupation. The U.S. Campaign now reports about 380 state-level member *organizations* across the country, including five businesses in Olympia, WA. This list is attached as Exhibit C; *see* http://www.endtheoccupation.org/groups.php
- 14. The proposal presented to the Board did not test the outer limits of the Co-op boycott policy's reach, but was squarely within its terms, as a proposed response to a call for boycott, called for humanitarian reasons, that came from hundreds of organizations international, national, and even Olympia's own local BDS organization, which was (and is) linked to the global BDS movement.
- 15. After the July 2010 Board vote, I distributed the Co-op's bylaw provision for member-initiated ballots to members who I saw tabling outside a Co-op store, seeking signatures on petitions protesting the Board's resolution.

I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the State of Washington that the foregoing is true and correct.

DATED this 15 day of December, 2011 at Portland, Oregon.

Grace Cox

Davis Wright Tremaine LLP LAS DIFFELD

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LIST OF EXHIBITS

3	<u>Exhibit</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	A	May 1993 Co-op boycott policy
5	В	Informational packet on the proposed boycott and
6		divestment from Israel, distributed to the Board for its July 2010 meeting.
7	C	U.S. Campaign to End the Occupation:
8		Member organizations by state
9		

EXHIBIT A

BOYCOTT POLICY

Whenever possible, the Olympia Food Co-op will honor nationally recognized boycotts which are called for reasons that are compatible with our goals and mission statement.

Exceptions to this policy include:

A: Staple products that are being boycotted across the board or for which alternative brands or product lines or not available; or,

B: Dietary specialty products for which alternatives are not available.

In the event that we decide not to honor a boycott, we will make an effort to publicize the issues surrounding the boycott as well as why we are continuing to carry the product in question, to allow our members to make the most educated decisions possible.

When we become aware of a boycott of a product that we carry, we will gather as much of the following information as possible:

A: Who is calling the boycott;

B: How to contact them;

C: Basic outline of the issues involved;

D: Parameters of the boycott (what products are specifically involved); and,

E: What will end the boycott.

If a member informs us of a boycott, we will ask them to provide the above information.

A request to honor a boycott may come from anyone in the organization. The request will be referred to the Merchandising Coordinator (M.C.) to determine which products and departments are affected. The M.C. will delegate the boycott request to the manager(s) of the department which contains the largest number of boycotted products. The department manager will make a written recommendation to the staff who will decide by consensus whether or not to honor a boycott.

The recommendation should include:

A: Who's calling the boycott and why

B: List of products we carry that would be affected

C: Information on availability of alternative products (including price)

D: Significant difficulties in honoring the boycott

E: Recommendations of other affected department managers

F: Exceptions to the recommendation (e.g. "I recommend we honor the boycott of Chinese products except for hemp twine, and here" why.""

The department manager will post a sign informing customers of the staff's decision and reasoning regarding the boycott. If the staff decides to honor a boycott, the M.C. will notify the boycotted company or body of our decision.

The Co-op will not accept bulk orders for items produced by the target of a Co-op honored boycott. Bulk orders for items produced by targets of boycotts which the Co-op has not yet formally chosen to honor will be accepted. Approved May, 1993

EXHIBIT B

A request for the Olympia Food Co-op to honor the international call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) on Israel for human rights and freedom.

"I don't think it's brave that I supported the BDS call in 2008, when Gaza was being attacked and children were dying. The call was made in 2005. I'm ashamed that it took me this long. I'm not being humble when I say that I'm sorry, that it was nothing but cowardice. It was nothing but cowardice. But I ask all of you out there who are on the fence to please join me."

—Naomi Klein, author, activist

I'm Jewish and Israeli. I have a responsibility for the crimes that are taking place by the Israeli government in my name. My effect as a military refusenik is here, in Israel. The privileges that we receive in Israel, as an Apartheid state, carries with them also the responsibility to resist and expose that system. For example, when a Palestinian goes oversees to talk about the occupation, to support the BDS campaign, upon their return they will be arrested, if not worse. So as a Jew and Israeli, I need to use the privileges that I get, to call an end to this whole racist system.

—Yonatan Shapira, Israeli Air Force captain, co-founder of Combatants for Peace

I believe that BDS is the only viable nonviolent method that can impact "facts on the ground." All of us who love freedom, justice and peace, all of us who love the people of Israel and the people of Palestine have a profound responsibility to act in alignment with the people who are the actual victims in this situation. They are calling for BDS.

-Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb, one of the first female ordained rabbis in the US

Missing the five-year anniversary of our struggle in Bil'in will be like missing the birthday of one of my children. Lately I think a lot about my friend Bassem—whose life was taken during a nonviolent demonstration last year—and how much I miss him. Despite the pain of this loss and the yearning I feel to be with my family and friends at home, I think that if this is the price we must pay for our freedom, then it is worth it, and we would be willing to pay much more.

—Abdullah abu Rahma, Palestinian leader of nonviolent resistance in Bil'in, writing from Ofer Military Detention Camp

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Palestinian Civil Society Calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel Until it Complies with International Law and Universal Principles of Human Rights 9 July 2005

One year after the historic Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which found Israel's Wall built on occupied Palestinian territory to be illegal; Israel continues its construction of the colonial Wall with total disregard to the Court's decision. Thirty eight years into Israel's occupation of the Palestinian West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, Israel continues to expand Jewish colonies. It has unilaterally annexed occupied East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and is now de facto annexing large parts of the West Bank by means of the Wall. Israel is also preparing - in the shadow of its lanned redeployment from the Gaza Strip - to build and expand colonies in the West Bank. Fifty seven years fter the state of Israel was built mainly on land ethnically cleansed of its Palestinian ownters, a majority of Palestinians are refugees, most of whom are stateless. Moreover, Israel's entrenched system of racial discrimination against its own Arab-Palestinian citizens remains intact.

In light of Israel's persistent violations of international law; and

Given that, since 1948, hundreds of UN resolutions have condemned Israel's colonial and discriminatory policies as illegal and called for immediate, adequate and effective remedies; and

Given that all forms of international intervention and peace-making have until now failed to convince or force Israel to comply with humanitarian law, to respect fundamental human rights and to end its occupation and oppression of the people of Palestine; and

In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment and sanctions; and

Inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid and in the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to injustice and oppression;

We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace.

These non-violent punitive measures should be maintained until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by:

- 1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;
- 2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
- 3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.

Endorsed by over 170 Palestinian political parties, unions, associations, coalitions and organizations representing the three integral parts of the people of Palestine: Palestinian refugees, Palestinians under occupation and Palestinian citizens of Israel.

Frequently Asked Questions

Why boycott?

Boycott is a nonviolent tool for social change that has been tested and proven effective in a variety of campaigns. It is an essential part of the engaged civilian's toolkit and is an empowering process that everyone can participate in. When governments have failed—or in this case, have been fundamentally complicit—boycott helps level the playing field.

There is a rich history of boycotts for social change, from the Indian "Swadeshi" boycott of British goods, to the Montgomery bus boycott in the 1950s, to the California grape boycott in the 1960s, or the more recent Coalition of Immokalee Workers boycott of Taco Bell.

Perhaps the best example of this nonviolent tactic used to change the policies of a country is the boycott, divestment, and sanctions campaign on apartheid South Africa.

Some of us were not around to participate in these boycotts, but there are boycott campaigns today that are worth considering.

Why an Israeli boycott?

The Israeli boycott is part of a nonviolent international grassroots campaign of boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) to compel Israel to follow international law and respect Palestinian human rights.

The campaign's clearest statement comes from a 2005 call for international action, signed by nearly 200 Palestinian civil society organizations and endorsed by prominent activists from Desmond Tutu to Arundhati Roy to Naomi Klein.

After 60 years, the roots of the conflict still remain unaddressed. There have been several rounds of US-sponsored "peace talks" that have actually served to suspend peace. International law has been clear on the solution, but the solution has been stymied by US support for the Israeli status quo.

The situation has only gotten worse:

1. Expansion:

The number of illegal settlements and Israeli settlers taking over the Palestinian West Bank and East Jerusalem has consistently and continuously expanded — even during the Oslo "peace process" and even during the current Israeli "moratorium" on settlements.

2. Expulsion:

The Israeli expulsion of Palestinians from Palestinian lands has grown. Palestinians continue to be driven out of their own land today, through a combination of Israeli military tactics, discriminatory legal rulings, and an Israeli bureaucracy deliberately designed to drive out Arabs from their own lands. The Palestinian refugee crisis that began with the initial expulsions in 1947 continues to this day, with more refugees being created to make way for a dominant Israel.

3. Strangulation:

The siege of 1.5 million people in the Gaza Strip is into its fifth year. Israel has enacted what it calls "economic warfare" by trapping the population in the world's largest open-air prison, prohibiting

Gazans from fishing off their own waters, from importing books and livestock, from farming near the border, from exporting goods, and from creating their own economy or producing their own food. The plan was described by a senior Israeli advisor in 2006 as "like an appointment with a dietician. The Palestinians will get a lot thinner, but won't die."

Israel will continue to act with impunity until the world collectively responds. BDS is how the people of the world are responding right now.

But why should I honor the boycott? What does it have to do with me?

Simply put, we have the responsibility, and we have the means.

The Responsibility

People living in the United States have an exceptional responsibility for the conflict in the Middle East. For decades, the United States has guaranteed the power imbalance that makes it impossible for the Palestine/Israel conflict to be resolved. The US backs Israeli aggressions through the following policies:

- 1. Military and financial aid: The US gives Israel about \$3 billion annually—usually more—making Israel the largest recipient of US aid, receiving roughly the same amount that the US gives to all of sub-Saharan Africa. However, Israel is not a developing country in need of financial assistance. Instead, Israel uses the money to expand its dominance in the region.
- 2. Diplomatic immunity: The US shields Israel from international criticism. In the history of the UN Security Council, half of all US vetoes have been performed on behalf of Israel. The US ensures that existing Security Council resolutions, World Court rulings, and other aspects of international law do not apply to Israel, making it possible for Israel to continue to commit war crimes and human rights abuses, at the expense of the Palestinians and Israel's neighbors.
- 3. Political support: The US directs the situation in Palestine/Israel by encouraging Israeli supremacy in the region and co-opting the peace process for its own ends. Israeli actions are committed with US consent and approval.

In othe words, the Palestine/Israel conflict is our conflict, whether we like it or not. It's our responsibility. Shirking that responsibility only makes us more complicit in the actions of our government.

The Means

Honoring the boycott demonstrates to Israel that US support is not unconditional and not absolute. It sends a message to Israel that we are putting Israel on notice and that we will not look the other way while our government colludes with them. If Israel sees the US people disapprove of its actions, then they will know that US support for its impunity is not guaranteed.

While other people around the world are participating in the BDS campaign, it's the people of the US that Israel worries about the most.

Why should the Co-op honor the boycott?

The Olympia Food Co-op operates with an awareness of economic, ecological, and social justice, which is imbued in its mission and in its policies. The Co-op has a history of factoring in social ethics to its merchandising decisions — choosing not to carry certain products due to a workers' stike or an existing boycott campaign. The Co-op has also refused to stock items that contain packaging construed as racist or sexist.

Because the Co-op understands that social ethics and social justice are inseparable from providing

the community with goods, it is only appropriate that the Co-op honors the boycott campaign, which fits perfectly with its existing boycott policies.

Honoring the boycott help the Co-op live up to its goal to "encourage economic and social justice."

But Israel won't change its ways just because the Co-op boycotts, right?

Of course. A boycott doesn't work if only one establishment chooses to boycott on its own. A boycott requires a campaign, a movement, and broad participation. All these items are already in place. The co-op would not be *initiating* a boycott. Rather it would be respecting, observing and participating in an existing boycott. It's through collective power that a boycott resonates.

Here is a sample of the grassroots actions that have occurred or are occurring in the BDS movement:

The Methodist Church of Great Britain recently voted to boycott Israeli settlement goods.

The Swedish Dock Workers Union instituted a weeklong blockade of Israeli cargo from Sweden.

The Evergreen State College student body voted overwhelmingly to call on the Evergreen Foundation to divest from companies that profit from the Israeli occupation.

A similar call was passed at the University of Michigan—Dearborn.

Hampshire College divested from companies that were engaged in human rights abuses with the Israeli military. (Incidentally, Hampshire was the first college to divest from apartheid South Africa.)

The Northern Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church also voted to divest from companies profiting from the occupation.

Code Pink leads a campaign to boycott Ahava products, produced by an Israeli company from stolen Palestinian natural resources. Oxfam drops Sex and the City actor Kristen Davis as Goodwill Ambassador due to Davis's role as a spokesperson for Ahava.

Jewish Voice for Peace unveils its campaign to call on TIAA-CREF to institute its socially responsible investment policy and divest from companies profiting from the occupation.

Britain's largest union, Unite, votes to engage in boycott and divestment from Israel, "similar to the boycott of South African goods during the era of apartheid."

Italy's largest supermarket chains, COOP and Nordiconad, announce a boycott of products exported by Israeli Carmel Agrexco.

Germany's largest bank, Deutsche Bank, along with the Norwegian State Pension Fund, the two largest Danish pension funds, Danske Bank and PKA Ltd, Sweden's largest asset manager, Folksam, and ABP, a Dutch asset manager, have all divested their funds from Elbit Systems, an Israeli arms manufacturer.

In Oakland, hundreds of labor and community activists enacted a 24-hour blockade of the port to prevent the unloading of an Israeli Zim Line ship on June 20, 2010 in protest of the Israeli siege on Gaza and the recent attacks on the Free Gaza flotilla. The June 20 blockade was honored by the Oakland ILWU.

Echoing the apartheid-era calls to not play in Sun City, Gil Scott-Heron, Elvis Costello, the Klaxons, Gorillaz, Santana, the Pixies, and Devendra Banhart all cancel tour dates in Israel in response to the international call for BDS.

Hollywood actors Meg Ryan and Dustin Hoffman cancel their appearances at the Jerusalem Film Festival in response to the Gaza flotilla massacre.

Numerous filmmakers, authors, and artists, including Eve Ensler, Alice Walker, David Byrne, Dan-

ny Glover, Howard Zinn, John Pilger, and Harry Belafotne, sign the "Toronto Declaration," protesting the use of the 2009 Toronto International Film Festival as part of the "Israeli propaganda machine."

John Berger, Arundhati Roy, Eduardo Galeano, Brian Eno, and several other artists and writers sign on to a separate declaration, calling for the cultural boycott of Israel.

The South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) declare efforts to make every South African municipality an "Apartheid Israel free zone."

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU) refuse to offload an Israeli ship in response to Israel's invasion of Gaza. COSATU declares that it will strengthen BDS efforts on Israel.

As with every movement, as with every struggle, boycotting is a long term campaign. Although many people have made sacrifices, and many others have not seen peace in their lifetime, the struggle continues. All that is asked of the Co-op is that it honors the boycott.

How could boycotting make a difference?

Boycotts have been proven effective in other campaigns. And we know that BDS is something Israel has been paying close attention to.

Recently, a bill was introduced in the Israeli Knesset, submitted by 25 Knesset members, that would "criminalize" BDS. That is, Israeli activists who support boycott could be arrested for engaging in "illegal" activity. Israeli activists have risked their livelihoods and have endured death threats in order to tell the world that BDS is necessary. Now they also risk imprisonment.

This demonstrates how much Israel is concerned with BDS, that the government would consider curtailing free speech in order to make BDS disappear.

Israel is a country that is particularly consumed with PR. Its media and society constantly argue over whether Israel is "winning the PR war." Even apart from AIPAC, the preeminent Israel lobby, tens of millions of dollars are spent on advocacy groups in the US to whitewash Israeli abuses and drown out criticism. Israel also hires prominent PR firms in the US and Europe to help manage its image.

Israeli PR moves have consisted of everything from producing a reality TV show (called "The Ambassador"), in which contestants compete to see who can best sell Israel to the world, to sponsoring a "Women of the Israeli Defense Forces" bikini spread in Maxim magazine, in order to make Israeli soldiers appear "sexy."

Boycotting makes a statement to Israel that it cannot continue to act with impunity. Israel's well documented and massive human rights violations can no longer be whitewashed or swept under the rug.

Isn't this "anti-Israel"?

Criticizing US foreign policy is not "anti-American," whatever that means. Israeli supporters of BDS are not "anti-Israel." The term "anti-Israel," as with "anti-American," is rhetorical.

Supporting BDS is no more "anti-Israel" than boycotting South Africa is "anti-South Africa" or "anti-White," or boycotting China is "anti-Chinese." Boycott is a nonviolent people-powered tool for change. This is about changing Israel's destructing policies and working for peace and justice in the region.

As Naomi Klein explains, "Boycott is not a dogma; it is a tactic." The British author John Berger ex-

plains further: "As Nelson Mandela has pointed out, boycott is not a principle, it is a tactic depending upon circumstances.... A boycott is directed against a policy and the institutions which support that policy either actively or tacitly. Its aim is not to reject, but to bring about change."

Boycott is the means to an end, not an end to itself. How do we change Israel's destructive policies, and how do we do it nonviolently?

When BDS was leveled on South Africa, the goal wasn't to "delegitimize" South Africa, to eliminate white South Africans, or to destroy South Africa. The goal was specific: To end Apartheid and the human rights abuses associtated with it. That was the goal. BDS was the tactic.

We want to boycott for change. We want to boycott for human rights.

But aren't we taking sides? or I don't want to take sides.

This argument makes the following faulty assumptions:

- 1. That by doing nothing, we are not taking sides.
- That both sides are equal, that there are no power dynamics.
- 3. That there is no right or wrong, no international law, no sense of justice or human rights only partisanship.
 - 4. That we understand what the "sides" are all about.

A boycott is a boycott for justice and human rights. Apathy or "neutrality" actually sides with the status quo, which is not a pleasant status quo. If we don't "take sides," then we give a green light for atrocities to continue.

Shouldn't we all take sides for social justice? Can we be neutral when it comes to racism, sexism, queer rights, apartheid, marriage equality, abortion, civil rights, torture, slavery, increased government surveillance, corporate globablization, and ethnic cleansing?

If we consider the "sides" to be Israel vs. Palestine, then one side is the occupying power, while the other side the occupied, the disempowered, and the dispossessed.

If we consider the "sides" according to what each party wants, it gets a little more complicated but still manageable. As with all peoples, Israelis and Palestinians are not monolithic. In fact, 20% of Israelis are Palestinian, too. However, virtually all Palestinians are united against occupation. In Israel, even beyond the 20% Palestinian population, there are many conscientious Israelis who are opposed to the actions of their government. Some of these Israelis are openly asking for us to participate in the boycott campaign.

So on one side, there are Palestinians, conscientious Israelis, international law, human rights, and world opinion. On the other side is the government of Israel, backed by the government of the United States. Is it too much to favor one side?

Unfortunately, due to racism and perhaps lack of exposure to other peoples of the world, there are many people who fail to see the Palestinians as human beings who deserve freedom by virtue of being alive. They shouldn't need to prove that they deserve freedom and human dignity.

The point is not that Palestinians are worth more than Israelis, but that Palestinians are entitled to human rights as much as Israelis are. To some, any acknowledgement of Palestinians as human beings seems partisan. We need to work against that, and "neutrality" won't get us there.

But why single out Israel?

Israel is not being singled out. The Co-op already has a China boycott in place. There are thousands

of social justice issues that people work on all the time. Yet when anyone brings up Palestine, they are immediately accused of "singling out" Israel, of "picking on" Israel—as if none of the other social justice issues ever came up.

By those standards, no matter what cause you're working on, you're "singling out" that cause. No one can address all the concerns in the world at the same time.

Is Israel the worst human rights abuser? No. But neither was South Africa under apartheid. That's certainly no reason to not work against apartheid. Whatever cause you work for, someone can come by and claim that there's a more important cause.

That's not really a defense of Israel, but a defense of apathy.

There are several reasons why Israel is important for us in the US, however. Foremost, the problem is that the US does single out Israel. The US singles out Israel as the largest recipient of US aid, as the country which receives unconditional support, and which gets to be the world's only undeclared nuclear power. So the best way to not single out Israel is to make Israel adhere to general principles such as human rights and international law, and hold Israel accountable for its actions.

Won't a boycott hurt regular Israelis?

The short answer is no—not individually. Here's the long answer:

The goal of the boycott is not to literally strike at the pocketbooks of the average Israeli. Boycott is a tactic that communicates to Israel as a whole that it cannot assume business as usual while oppressing a people. It demonstrates a *diplomatic and political* cost, by way of disrupting economic exchange. This disruption is experienced on a macro level, rather than on the micro level of individual Israeli citizens.

There are several dimensions of the boycott that must be addressed.

Economically:

Israel already receives \$3 billion a year from the United States (Olympia's own contribution adds up to about \$940,000 a year). This doesn't include additional grants and loan guarantees. And this has transpired every year for decades, totalling more than US aid to sub-Saharan Africa within that timespan. A boycott will not offset that, but will indicate to Israel that the US public is becoming aware of that \$3 billion bounty, and that the aid might not continue indefinitely and unconditionally.

Comparatively:

A boycott is in no way comparable to what Israel is doing to the Gaza Strip, which is true collective punishment. In the 2009 attack on Gaza, Israel destroyed the Gazan infrastructure. It has continued to maintain a blockade that prevents Gaza from rebuilding its economy. Exports are prohibited. Imports are limited to the barest necessities to stay alive. Books and livestock are not allowed in. Shoes and clothes were not allowed in for three years. Because of the blockade, 95% of Gaza's factories are closed, 98% of Gazans suffer from rolling power blackouts while the remaining 2% have no electricity at all. 93% of Gaza's water is polluted. Unemployment is over 40%. Gaza is not allowed to produce its own food.

A recent Israeli poll found that 73% of Israeli Jews support this "economic warfare" on Gaza (non-Jewish Israelis were not polled because their opininons do not matter).

Goods imported into Gaza are at the whim of Israeli officials. A number of Israeli food manufacturers and growers compete to have access to the literally "captive" Gazan market. The same applies

to the West Bank, where Israeli-imposed checkpoints, roadblocks, curfews, and Israeli-only "bypass" roads make Palestinian-produced goods more expensive to consume than the same products produced in Israel.

Israeli taxes are invested considerably more for Israeli Jews, at the expense of Palestinian citizens of Israel. VAT and customs collected from Palestinian financial exchanges and meant to be transferred to the Palestinian Authority are often held by Israel. "Free trade zones" located between Israel and the West Bank employ cheap Palestinian labor without according them any workers' rights.

There are many ways in which the average Jewish Israeli citizen benefits from the exploitive relationship with Palestinians.

The problem is that we are currently rewarding Israel financially, politically, and militarily for its oppression of the Palestinians. A boycott seeks to correct that problem.

Tactically:

Here, we must address the nature of the original question, because it presents doubts about boycotts and activism in general. Almost every type of activism inconveniences someone who is not a direct target. Thus lunch counter sit-ins, boycotts, marches, phone call-in campaigns, pickets all impact people beyond the inteded target to some extent. Does that inconvenience compromise the action? If so, then one has made the case against almost all nonviolent direct action—certainly against the Civil Rights Movement as a whole.

The assumption is that one should not engage in actions for social change if it ruffles a few feathers. The fact that it inconveniences people who are not the intended target means the action is not "noble." This is an unhealthy, idealized, and sanitized impression of what is required to create change. One cannot create change and not upset the status quo. It's a contradiction.

One must decide which is preferable: the false "calm" of the present—in which the only people oppressed are the people who have been continuously oppressed—or the "messy" struggle for progress, in which the oppressed are uplifted at the temporary inconvenience of those who have been benefiting from the status quo.

Moreover, regardless of one's stance on the Palestine/Israel conflict, there is often an automatic consideration for Israel and a mere afterthought afforded to Palestinians. Perhaps this is due to perceptions of Israel as a fellow western society, or perhaps it is due to the familiarity of centuries of anti-Semitic persecution of Jews. It could also be attributed to the fact that many people in the United States who are not Jewish, Arab, or Muslim have regular interactions with Jews but very few interactions with Palestinians, Arabs, or Muslims. Regardless, it is often easier to identify with a Jewish state than with a Palestinian refugee camp.

Thus, when the idea of a boycott on Israel is proposed, people automatically consider the feelings of the average Israeli, or even of their Jewish friends. This deference is considered first before any regard is granted to the Palestinians.

So when the original question is raised, is it raised because of concerns about boycotts in general, or because of concerns about bocyotts on Israel?

Would one have the same concerns about a boycott on South Africa, or China, or Sudan? Would one have the same concerns over an Arizona boycott? And would the concerns weigh the same as such concerns over Israel? And do we measure that against how much and how long the occupation has hurt Palestinians?

Popularly:

Finally, we must acknowledge the demographics of the region. Rougly 20% of Israelis are Palestinian, who are considered second- or third-class citizens and are routinely discriminated against. A number of prominent leaders among the Israeli Palestinian community endorse BDS. They have subsequently been denounced as a "fifth column," have been imprisoned and beaten, and have even been threatened with deportation.

Conscientious Israelis are also calling for BDS. They have been threatened with firings, have received death threats, and now they might be facing imprisonment, too.

Yet these people making the BDS call from within, presumably the ones who will bear the brunt of BDS, are asking the international community to heed their call. We must acknowledge their sacrifices.

A boycott is nonviolent, but it's still a blunt nondiscriminating weapon, isn't it?

No. A boycott doesn't need to be nondiscriminating. For instance, the Co-op carries a brand of olive oil called Peace Oil.

This oil is fairly traded and comes from Palestinian farmers in the West Bank and the Galilee, working in conjunction with Israelis. Although it is exported from Israel, its symbiotic and non-exploitive relationship with Palestinians makes it exempt from the boycott.

However, this Peace Oil, which is distributed in Seattle, should be distinguished from the London-based Israeli product with the same name. UK Peace Oil deceptively markets itself as a sort of fairly-traded, cooperatively run and harmonious product, but is actually a product of an exploitive relation-ship within Israel. That's why there is a British campaign against UK Peace Oil.

If the Co-op institutes this boycott, will it cause a backlash?

Recently, students at The Evergreen State College overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling on the college to divest from companies that profit from the Israeli occupation. It made news internationally. Evergreen students braced themselves for a backlash, but it never came. Instead, they received literally thousands of messages of support from around the world, including from many in Israel.

It is hard to predict what amount of backlash will result, and a reactionary response is a common side-effect of working for justice. However, it is important to not let the possibility of a backlash muddy the virtue of a just cause.

The biggest potential threat to a boycott comes from StandWithUs, a racist, anti-Muslim organization with a chapter in Seattle. StandWithUs engages in fearmongering, threats, misinformation, and smear campaigns to push their agendas through. They have been known to resort to homophobic insults and immature (and incomprehensible) email attacks.

Fortunately, they do not have much of a foothold in Olympia. If they did respond, one can take pride that one has upset such an appalling and reprehensible organization.

I agree with the intent, but I'm concerned about the timing.

The initial request to honor the boycott came from Co-op staff and volunteers at least two years ago. And as time goes by, it only becomes more important than ever.

Unfortunately there is never a "convenient" time to act because there is never an appropriate time

for injustice, oppression, and human rights abuses.

The occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has gone on for 43 years. The ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians began 63 years ago and continues to this day. The ongoing imprisonment and strangulation of the 1.5 million people of Gaza is now in its fourth year. Every new generation is worse off than the prior one, with fewer hopes and fewer prospects.

However, there is a solution, but only if we commit to it.

No time is a "good" time to do the right thing. There's only the right thing to do. The only "better" time would have been yesterday rather than today—and today rather than tomorrow.

I don't like how this makes me feel. / This makes me feel unsafe. / This makes me feel uncomfortable.

Without discounting people's personal feelings, we must distinguish between the actions that make one feel discomfort and the actions that cause people to be imprisoned, killed, malnourished, and oppressed. Activism is sometimes uncomfortable territory. It compels us to utilitze the powers and privileges that we possess. Standing up for what is right can be scary.

Those who feel uncomfortable because they feel it strikes at their sense of personal identity or makes them feel victimized or persecuted should be encouraged to express their feelings. However, it is important to recognize where those feelings come from, and distinguish those feelings from the efforts behind the boycott campaign and from the physical suffering of Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

I read on the internet (or heard from someone who heard from someone) that boycotting is illegal. Is that true?

No. This is a myth being propagated to scare people into supporting Israel. In the US, the Export Administration Act and the Ribicoff Amendment restrict the observance of boycotts "imposed by foreign countries that are unsanctioned by the United States." The ongoing BDS movement is a worldwide grassroots movement, not imposed by any country and not beholden to any country.

Just to be sure, one activist emailed the Bureau of Industry and Security at the US Dept. of Commerce. She received confirmation that "[t]he Regulations relate to unsanctioned foreign boycotts. The Regulations are not applicable to boycotts of domestic origin." That is, if the Co-op wants to boycott, it has that right — as it should.

No individual or organization has ever been penalized by the US government for participating in the grassroots BDS movement, and it demonstrates the lengths to which some people try to employ fear tactics in order to maintain the status quo and obstruct social change.

BDS is an international movement to affect change where governments have failed to do so. Its power comes from the people. It's simple. It's safe. And it's the right thing to do.

I can't use the drama, it's messy, it's complicated, we don't need this right now

These aren't actual arguments against boycott, but rather arguments against action, against taking responsibility, and arguments in support of the status quo. For us to honor the boycott in Olympia is much safer than Palestinians and Israelis requesting the boycott from their end. It is also much less dramatic and messy than the everyday trials of a military occupation.

What local drama may transpire will eventually pass, to be replaced no doubt with other drama. Yet the mark it makes on progress in Palestine will be permanent.

If we want to boycott Israel, then we would have to boycott cell phones, because Israel invented the cell phone. So there!

We didn't make this one up. This argument is more common than you think. The problem with this argument is twofold:

- 1. It's not true.
- 2. It doesn't make sense.

The point is not to reject all things Israeli. The point is to employ consumer-based activism to work for peace and justice.

Israel did not invent the cell phone, as is commonly argued. But even if it did, it does not mean we would necessarily reject cell phones. Nor does inventing the cell phone make it okay for Israel or the US (where the cell phone was actually created) to commit human rights abuses.

The first heart transplant was performed in apartheid South Africa. That did not make a boycott of South Africa any less releveant, nor did it mean that opponents of apartheid had to reject heart transplants.

A similar argument promoted by the Israeli government is that Israel invented the cherry tomato. Again, that is neither true nor relevant.

Jewish Letter of Support for the Proposed Boycott of Israeli Goods at the Olympia Food Co-op

(Note: This letter was circulated just last week and is presently collecting more signatures.)

As Jewish members of the Olympia Food Co-op we strongly support and endorse the proposed boycott of Israeli goods and products.

We recognize that the United States supports Israel diplomatically, politically and militarily, and, therefore, that we *all* hold a stake in the occupation of Palestine.

Jewish voices are often given extra weight on this issue—and we proudly raise ours in support of the boycott—but the guiding perspective must come from Palestinians. Palestinian Civil Society (an overwhelming majority of organizations representing Palestinian refugees, Palestinians under occupation and Palestinian citizens of Israel) has called for a boycott until Israel meets its obligation to recognize Palestinian self-determination and complies with the precepts of international law.

We reject the notion that Jewish identity necessitates unconditional support for the government of Israel and for its human rights abuses. This expectation is particularly egregious when it is invoked to obstruct genuine attempts at peace and justice, confining the matter to a "Jewish" affair rather than honoring our commitments to universal human rights and public accountability.

In order to reflect the values that we, the Co-op membership, share, and to respect the Co-op's commitment to anti-racism and the mission statement goals C and D (support efforts to increase democratic process; support efforts to foster a socially and economically egalitarian society), we call on our Co-op to promptly institute the boycott.

Current signatories

Katherine "Asli" Glickler Bleu Wilding Omeh

Erica Leshon Ruth Lipow Anna Isaacs Ari Wildau Noah Sochet Rae Hamblin Nomy Lamm Anne Fischel Benjamin Groves Gar Lipow Kate Savkovich Sophie Gordon Peter Bohmer Alexa Zigman Rosie Math Ruth Kodish-Eskind

David Langstaff Matt Lester
Nina Triffleman Erica Merrill
Selena Howard Sky Cohen
Victoria Larkin Robert Gordon
Mariel Cutler Ron Smith
Tovah Rudawski Victoria Larkin

P.O. Box 12149 Olympia, WA 98508 July 10, 2010

To the Olympia Food Co-op Board of Directors

Dear Friends,

We are writing today to support the proposal before you to cease sales of Israeli products at the Olympia Food Coops. We view this as a very serious step, but a necessary one to address Israeli policy that continues the colonization of Palestine, the forty-three-year occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and the maintenance and expansion of a system of laws that favors Israel's Jewish citizens over Palestinians who live in Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and as refugees in other lands. As in the case of Apartheid South Africa, when governments fail to secure equality for all of their populace and when other means of securing justice also fail, boycott, a nonviolent response emanating from the grassroots becomes both a strategic and moral imperative.

Our own long-term experience seeking accountability for the killing of our daughter in Israel provides an example of why BDS is necessary. While some of you are familiar with our family's story, some may not be. On March 16, 2003, our daughter Rachel Corrie, a 23-year-old peace activist and an Olympia Food Co-op member, was crushed to death in Rafah, Gaza, by an Israel Defense Forces Caterpillar D-9R bulldozer as she nonviolently stood between that bulldozer and a Palestinian home that was threatened with demolition. Members of the family who owned the home (a Palestinian pharmacist and accountant, their wives, and five young children) watched from inside their garden wall, as the bulldozer approached. With other international activists, Rachel worked to offer some protection for Palestinian wells and civilian homes threatened by the Israeli military. In a late 2004 report, "Razing Rafah, Mass Home Demolitions in the Gaza Strip," Human Rights Watch stated that between September 2000 and September 2004, over 1700 homes in Rafah were demolished as Israeli occupation forces cleared a wide buffer strip and constructed a large steel wall along Rafah's border with Egypt. The report states, "The pattern of destruction strongly suggests that Israeli forces demolished homes wholesale, regardless of whether they posed a specific threat, in violation of international law. In most of the cases, Human Rights Watch found the destruction was carried out in the absence of military necessity."

In other work in Gaza, Rachel documented the destruction of Palestinian olive orchards, gardens, and greenhouses, and harassment of Palestinians at checkpoints. She worked with Palestinian children and women and planned for connecting the people of Rafah and our community of Olympia through a sister-city project. Through phone calls and e-mails home, Rachel introduced our family and friends to life in Occupied Palestine:

"I don't know if many of the children here have ever existed without tank-shell holes in their walls and the towers of an occupying army surveying them constantly from the near horizons. I think, although I'm not entirely sure, that even the smallest of these children understand that life is not like this everywhere. An eight-year-old was shot and killed by an Israeli tank two days before I got here, and many of the children murmur his name to me—Ali—or point at the posters of him on the walls."

"...no amount of reading, attendance at conferences, documentary viewing and word of mouth could have prepared me for the reality of the situation here. You just can't imagine it unless you see it—and even then you are always well aware that your experience of it is not at all the reality—what with the difficulties the Israeli army would face if they shot an unarmed US citizen, and with the fact that I have money to buy water when the army destroys wells, and the fact, of course, that I have the option of leaving."

According to the U.S. Department of State, on March 17, 2003, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon promised President Bush a "thorough, credible, and transparent" investigation into Rachel's killing. Richard Boucher of the U.S. Department of State said at the time, "When we have the death of an American citizen, we want to see it fully investigated. That is one of our key responsibilities overseas, is to look after the welfare of American citizens and to find out what happened in situations like these." But soon after, the Israeli military concluded that the two soldiers in the D9R Caterpillar bulldozer that killed Rachel did not see her, though seven eyewitnesses indicate she was clearly visible. The case was closed, no charges were brought, and the Israeli Government declined to release their investigative report to the U.S. Government, though some U.S. officials were able to read it.

On June 11, 2004, in response to inquiries from our family, Lawrence B. Wilkerson, Chief of Staff to Colin Powell at the U.S. Department of State, wrote, "Your ultimate question, however, is a valid one, i.e., whether or not we view that report to have reflected an investigation that was 'thorough, credible, and transparent.' I can answer your question without equivocation. No, we do not consider it so." On March 14, 2008, we received a letter from Michele Bernier-Toth, Managing Director of the Office of Overseas Citizen Services at the Department of State, who wrote, "We have consistently requested that the Government of Israel conduct a full and transparent investigation into Rachel's death. Our requests have gone unanswered or ignored. We will continue to raise this issue with the Government of Israel, but, unfortunately, at this point we are not optimistic that the Israeli Government intends to do anything further on Rachel's case or investigation." For over seven years, the position of the U.S. Government has remained that this case has not been properly investigated by the Israeli Government. Our family and many others have fervently advocated for accountability. As late as last week, we had meetings at the highest levels of the Department of State and the White House regarding Rachel's case, the recent flotilla disaster, and the siege on Gaza. At considerable burden to our family, we are now pursuing the matter of Rachel's killing in Israeli Civil Court.

Rachel brought our family to the issue of Israel/Palestine. Our previous understanding was limited largely to the Israeli Jewish narrative; and if we had an allegiance, it was to that narrative. Palestinians were mostly invisible to us. Our more complete education began when Rachel set out to help us understand why she was traveling to Palestine, and it expanded vicariously through her experience and reporting. Since her killing, we have visited the Middle East (Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and Egypt) on six different occasions (most recently in March 2010). We have spent nearly every day during the past seven years connecting in some way with those who are touched by the Israeli/Palestinian issue.

We have witnessed the ever-expanding confiscation of Palestinian land for illegal settlements, Jewish-only roads, and buffer zones. In a report this week, "By Hook and by Crook: Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank," the Israeli human rights organization B'tselem reports that one-half million settlers now live in the West Bank, and more than 42% of West Bank land has been taken by settlements or for annexation to Jerusalem. The report states, "While developing the settlement enterprise, Israel also established and institutionalized two separate legal systems in the West Bank: one for settlers, which de facto annexes the settlements and grants their residents all the

rights accorded to citizens of a democratic country; and the other, a military judicial system that systematically viola tes the rights of Palestinians and denies them any real power in shaping the policies that influence their lives and rights. These separate

legal systems entrench a regime in which a person's rights are granted based on his or her national identity."

Through the years, we have watched the separation barrier, deemed illegal in 2004 by the international court of justice, snake around Jerusalem and through the West Bank taking Palestinian land, inhibiting Palestinian movement, and creating another obstacle to peace.

We traveled to Gaza two times in 2009 and witnessed firsthand the devastation wreaked upon the civilian population in December 2008 and January 2009 during the Israeli military operation Cast Lead. We found families living in UN tents, the industrial zone flattened, and mosques and schools bombed. We met those who had lost multiple family members in the attacks and children who had lost their limbs. We saw the sewage flowing into the Mediterranean Sea because of infrastructure damaged for which materials for repair are not available. We met families whose livelihoods have been stolen because of Israeli confiscation of their farmland to create a wider buffer area along the borders.

During the three-year siege, we have monitored weekly UN reports about the flow of goods from Israel into Gaza. Despite what Israeli officials say about the quantities they allow in and despite the efforts of many in the U.S. (including members of Congress and the State Department) to increase the amounts allowed in, the number of trucks entering Gaza from Israel weekly has consistently remained at 20-25% of the number that entered during the first half of 2007 before the siege was tightened. As a result, we have seen the development of a black market, tunnel economy that our friends in Palestinian human rights organizations tell us harms the fabric of Gazan society. We have listened to the stories of those not allowed to travel between the West Bank and Gaza to see dying family members and have personally tried to assist students with prestigious scholarships in foreign countries but unable to travel for their study.

We have stood with nonviolent Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals who regularly protest the confiscation of Palestinian land. We have met the friends of Palestinians killed by the Israeli military in those protests and the internationals who have been injured. In March, we visited with Tristan Anderson, an activist from the Bay Area, who one year ago was shot in the head with a high velocity teargas cannister. For days and weeks Tristan's family and friends feared that he would not survive, but after over a year in hospital he has now returned home to California, but with serious damage.

We are friends with Israeli Jews whose family members have died violently at the hands of Palestinians but who work as we do to end the Occupation and now stand with the Palestinians in support of Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions.

For over seven years we have worked unceasingly to raise awareness of the Palestinian/Israeli issue and the U.S. role in it and to advocate for a just peace in the region. At one point, our family had visited every office in the U.S. Congress. Throughout this journey, we have seen an unwillingness on the part of U.S. officials to consider compliance with our own laws (the Arms Export Control Act, Foreign Military Financing laws, and the Leahy Amendment) relative to Israel's misuse of U.S. funded and exported weapons. We believe, in fact, that we contributed to Rachel's killing with military support to Israel paid with our own tax dollars. Despite Israel's violations of Palestinian human rights and international law and despite the growing awareness of the damage done to the U.S. through our continuing financial support of the Israeli Occupation, the U.S. Congress shows no inclination to reduce funding.

While our various efforts to educate those in the U.S. and elsewhere and to forge changes in U.S. and Israeli policy will continue, the lack of any substantive change and, in fact, the deterioration of the situation in many ways, has propelled us to lend our support to BDS efforts here in the U.S. and elsewhere. As we write from our seven-year personal witness to the impotence and lack of will on the part of the U.S. and the international community in securing freedom, equality, and self-determination for Palestinians, we are keenly aware of those Palestinians in Israel/Palestine and throughout the world who have lived with this situation for over sixty years, and of their Israeli Jewish supporters who for decades have struggled in solidarity trying to change their government's policies.

It has been too long. It is time for us to act to send a signal to the people of Israel and to officials here in the U.S. and elsewhere that the people of the world will not continue to stand for this outrage that has brought such pain and grief to so many for so long. Step by step, in solidarity, we must build support for justice and equality in Israel/Palestine that the leaders of Israel, the U.S., and the world will not be able to dismiss or mollify.

We believe it fitting that the Olympia Food Co-op stands now with those who say, "Enough." We urge you to support this proposal to end the sale of Israeli products at our Olympia Co-ops until Israel has complied with international law and until Palestinians and Israelis are able to share the same rights and freedom. Martin Luther King said, "Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed." We urge the Olympia Food Co-op to take this courageous step and to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people as they demand their basic human rights.

We wish you the very best in arriving at your decision. We are sorry that we cannot join you for your board meeting on July 15th. Our work continues this week as we speak after readings of the play My Name is Rachel Corrie in Ketchum, Idaho followed by a presentation late in the week in Boise. Please feel free to contact us with any questions.

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Craig and Cindy Corrie

Israel: Boycott, Divest, Sanction

by Naomi Klein From *The Nation*, January 26, 2009.

It's time. Long past time. The best strategy to end the increasingly bloody occupation is for Israel to become the target of the kind of global movement that put an end to apartheid in South Africa.

In July 2005 a huge coalition of Palestinian groups laid out plans to do just that. They called on "people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era." The campaign Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions—BDS for short—was born.

Every day that Israel pounds Gaza brings more converts to the BDS cause, and talk of cease-fires is doing little to slow the momentum. Support is even emerging among Israeli Jews. In the midst of the assault roughly 500 Israelis, dozens of them well-known artists and scholars, sent a letter to foreign ambassadors stationed in Israel. It calls for "the adoption of immediate restrictive measures and sanctions" and draws a clear parallel with the antiapartheid struggle. "The boycott on South Africa was effective, but Israel is handled with kid gloves.... This international backing must stop."

Yet many still can't go there. The reasons are complex, emotional and understandable. And they simply aren't good enough. Economic sanctions are the most effective tools in the nonviolent arsenal. Surrendering them verges on active complicity. Here are the top four objections to the BDS strategy, followed by counterarguments.

1. Punitive measures will alienate rather than persuade Israelis.

The world has tried what used to be called "constructive engagement." It has failed utterly. Since 2006 Israel has been steadily escalating its criminality: expanding settlements, launching an outrageous war against Lebanon and imposing collective punishment on Gaza through the brutal blockade. Despite this escalation, Israel has not faced punitive measures—quite the opposite. The weapons and \$3 billion in annual aid that the US sends to Israel is only the beginning. Throughout this key period, Israel has enjoyed a dramatic improvement in its diplomatic, cultural and trade relations with a variety of other allies. For instance, in 2007 Israel became the first non-Latin American country to sign a free-trade deal with Mercosur. In the first nine months of 2008, Israeli exports to Canada went up 45 percent. A new trade deal with the European Union is set to double Israel's exports of processed food. And on December 8, European ministers "upgraded" the EU-Israel Association Agreement, a reward long sought by Jerusalem.*

It is in this context that Israeli leaders started their latest war: confident they would face no meaningful costs. It is remarkable that over seven days of wartime trading, the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange's flagship index actually went up 10.7 percent. When carrots don't work, sticks are needed.

2. Israel is not South Africa.

Of course it isn't. The relevance of the South African model is that it proves that BDS tactics can be effective when weaker measures (protests, petitions, back-room lobbying) have failed. And there are indeed deeply distressing echoes: the color-coded IDs and travel permits, the bulldozed homes and forced displacement, the settler-only roads. Ronnie Kasrils, a prominent South African politician, said that the architecture of segregation that he saw in the West Bank and Gaza in 2007 was "infinitely worse than apartheid."

3. Why single out Israel when the United States, Britain and other Western countries do the same things in Iraq and Afghanistan?

Boycott is not a dogma; it is a tactic. The reason the BDS strategy should be tried against Israel is practical: in a country so small and trade-dependent, it could actually work.

4. Boycotts sever communication; we need more dialogue, not less.

This one I'll answer with a personal story. For eight years, my books have been published in Israel by a commercial house called Babel. But when I published The *Shock Doctrine*, I wanted to respect the boycott. On the advice of BDS activists, I contacted a small publisher called Andalus. Andalus is an activist press, deeply involved in the anti-occupation movement and the only Israeli publisher devoted exclusively to translating Arabic writing into Hebrew. We drafted a contract that guarantees that all proceeds go to Andalus's work, and none to me. In other words, I am boycotting the Israeli economy but not Israelis.

Coming up with this plan required dozens of phone calls, e-mails and instant messages, stretching from Tel Aviv to Ramallah to Paris to Toronto to Gaza City. My point is this: as soon as you start implementing a boycott strategy, dialogue increases dramatically. And why wouldn't it? Building a movement requires endless communicating, as many in the antiapartheid struggle well recall. The argument that supporting boycotts will cut us off from one another is particularly specious given the array of cheap information technologies at our fingertips. We are drowning in ways to rant at one another across national boundaries. No boycott can stop us.

Just about now, many a proud Zionist is gearing up for major point-scoring: don't I know that many of those very high-tech toys come from Israeli research parks, world leaders in infotech? True enough, but not all of them. Several days into Israel's Gaza assault, Richard Ramsey, the managing director of a British telecom company, sent an e-mail to the Israeli tech firm MobileMax. "As a result of the Israeli government action in the last few days we will no longer be in a position to consider doing business with yourself or any other Israeli company."

When contacted by *The Nation*, Ramsey said his decision wasn't political. "We can't afford to lose any of our clients, so it was purely commercially defensive."

It was this kind of cold business calculation that led many companies to pull out of South Africa two decades ago. And it's precisely the kind of calculation that is our most realistic hope of bringing justice, so long denied, to Palestine.

Boycott Israel

An Israeli comes to the painful conclusion that it's the only way to save his country

Neve Gordon

Los Angeles Times, August 20, 2009

Neve Gordon is the author of "Israel's Occupation" and teaches politics at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, Israel.

Israeli newspapers this summer are filled with angry articles about the push for an international boycott of Israel. Films have been withdrawn from Israeli film festivals, Leonard Cohen is under fire around the world for his decision to perform in Tel Aviv, and Oxfam has severed ties with a celebrity spokesperson, a British actress who also endorses cosmetics produced in the occupied territories. Clearly, the campaign to use the kind of tactics that helped put an end to the practice of apartheid in South Africa is gaining many followers around the world.

Not surprisingly, many Israelis—even peaceniks—aren't signing on. A global boycott can't help but contain echoes of anti-Semitism. It also brings up questions of a double standard (why not boycott China for its egregious violations of human rights?) and the seemingly contradictory position of approving a boycott of one's own nation.

It is indeed not a simple matter for me as an Israeli citizen to call on foreign governments, regional authorities, international social movements, faith-based organizations, unions and citizens to suspend cooperation with Israel. But today, as I watch my two boys playing in the yard, I am convinced that it is the only way that Israel can be saved from itself.

I say this because Israel has reached a historic crossroads, and times of crisis call for dramatic measures. I say this as a Jew who has chosen to raise his children in Israel, who has been a member of the Israeli peace camp for almost 30 years and who is deeply anxious about the country's future.

The most accurate way to describe Israel today is as an apartheid state. For more than 42 years, Israel has controlled the land between the Jordan Valley and the Mediterranean Sea. Within this region about 6 million Jews and close to 5 million Palestinians reside. Out of this population, 3.5 million Palestinians and almost half a million Jews live in the areas Israel occupied in 1967, and yet while these two groups live in the same area, they are subjected to totally different legal systems. The Palestinians are stateless and lack many of the most basic human rights. By sharp contrast, all Jews—whether they live in the occupied territories or in Israel—are citizens of the state of Israel.

The question that keeps me up at night, both as a parent and as a citizen, is how to ensure that my two children as well as the children of my Palestinian neighbors do not grow up in an apartheid regime.

There are only two moral ways of achieving this goal.

The first is the one-state solution: offering citizenship to all Palestinians and thus establishing a binational democracy within the entire area controlled by Israel. Given the demographics, this would amount to the demise of Israel as a Jewish state; for most Israeli Jews, it is anathema.

The second means of ending our apartheid is through the two-state solution, which entails Israel's withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders (with possible one-for-one land swaps), the division of Jerusalem, and a recognition of the Palestinian right of return with the stipulation that only a limited number of the 4.5 million Palestinian refugees would be allowed to return to Israel, while the rest can

return to the new Palestinian state.

Geographically, the one-state solution appears much more feasible because Jews and Palestinians are already totally enmeshed; indeed, "on the ground," the one-state solution (in an apartheid manifestation) is a reality.

Ideologically, the two-state solution is more realistic because fewer than 1% of Jews and only a minority of Palestinians support binationalism.

For now, despite the concrete difficulties, it makes more sense to alter the geographic realities than the ideological ones. If at some future date the two peoples decide to share a state, they can do so, but currently this is not something they want.

So if the two-state solution is the way to stop the apartheid state, then how does one achieve this goal?

I am convinced that outside pressure is the only answer. Over the last three decades, Jewish settlers in the occupied territories have dramatically increased their numbers. The myth of the united Jerusalem has led to the creation of an apartheid city where Palestinians aren't citizens and lack basic services. The Israeli peace camp has gradually dwindled so that today it is almost nonexistent, and Israeli politics are moving more and more to the extreme right.

It is therefore clear to me that the only way to counter the apartheid trend in Israel is through massive international pressure. The words and condemnations from the Obama administration and the European Union have yielded no results, not even a settlement freeze, let alone a decision to withdraw from the occupied territories.

I consequently have decided to support the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement that was launched by Palestinian activists in July 2005 and has since garnered widespread support around the globe. The objective is to ensure that Israel respects its obligations under international law and that Palestinians are granted the right to self-determination.

In Bilbao, Spain, in 2008, a coalition of organizations from all over the world formulated the 10-point Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign meant to pressure Israel in a "gradual, sustainable manner that is sensitive to context and capacity." For example, the effort begins with sanctions on and divestment from Israeli firms operating in the occupied territories, followed by actions against those that help sustain and reinforce the occupation in a visible manner. Along similar lines, artists who come to Israel in order to draw attention to the occupation are welcome, while those who just want to perform are not.

Nothing else has worked. Putting massive international pressure on Israel is the only way to guarantee that the next generation of Israelis and Palestinians—my two boys included—does not grow up in an apartheid regime.

Letter from Desmond Tutu

Desmond Tutu

South African Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, a long-time advocate of BDS for Palestinian rights, wrote this letter to students at UC Berkeley after the Student Senate passed a resolution to divest from companies that profited from the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

April 11, 2010

It was with great joy that I learned of your recent 16-4 vote in support of divesting your university's money from companies that enable and profit from the injustice of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land and violation of Palestinian human rights. Principled stands like this, supported by a fast growing number of US civil society organizations and people of conscience, including prominent Jewish groups, are essential for a better world in the making, and it is always an inspiration when young people lead the way and speak truth to power.

I am writing to tell you that, despite what detractors may allege, you are doing the right thing. You are doing the moral thing. You are doing that which is incumbent on you as humans who believe that all people have dignity and rights, and that all those being denied their dignity and rights deserve the solidarity of their fellow human beings.

I have been to the Ocupied Palestinian Territory, and I have witnessed the racially segregated roads and housing that reminded me so much of the conditions we experienced in South Africa under the racist system of Apartheid. I have witnessed the humiliation of Palestinian men, women, and children made to wait hours at Israeli military checkpoints routinely when trying to make the most basic of trips to visit relatives or attend school or college, and this humiliation is familiar to me and the many black South Africans who were corralled and regularly insulted by the security forces of the Apartheid government.

In South Africa, we could not have achieved our freedom and just peace without the help of people around the world, who through the use of non-violent means, such as boycotts and divestment, encouraged their governments and other corporate actors to reverse decades-long support for the Apartheid regime. Students played a leading role in that struggle, and I write this letter with a special indebtedness to your school, Berkeley, for its pioneering role in advocating equality in South Africa and promoting corporate ethical and social responsibility to end complicity in Apartheid. I visited your campus in the 1980's and was touched to find students sitting out in the baking sunshine to demonstrate for the University's disvestment in companies supporting the South African regime.

The same issue of equality is what motivates the divestment movement of today, which tries to end Israel's 43 year long occupation and the unequal treatment of the Palestinian people by the Israeli government ruling over them. The abuses they face are real, and no person should be offended by principled, morally consistent, non-violent acts to oppose them. It is no more wrong to call out Israel in particular for its abuses than it was to call out the Apartheid regime in particular for its abuses.

To those who wrongly accuse you of unfairness or harm done to them by this call for divestment, I suggest, with humility, that the harm suffered from being confronted with opinions that challenge one's own pales in comparison to the harm done by living a life under occupation and daily denial of basic rights and dignity. It is not with rancor that we criticize the Israeli government, but with hope,

a hope that a better future can be made for both Israelis and Palestinians, a future in which both the violence of the occupier and the resulting violent resistance of the occupied come to an end, and where one people need not rule over another, engendering suffering, humiliation, and retaliation. True peace must be anchored in justice and an unwavering commitment to universal rights for all humans, regardless of ethnicity, religion, gender, national origin or any other identity attribute. You, students, are helping to pave that path to a just peace. I heartily endorse your divestment vote and encourage you to stand firm on the side of what is right.

God bless you richly,

Desmond Tutu Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town

Global Citizens Must Respond Where Governments Have Failed Stéphane Hessel

Stéphane Frédéric Hessel is a diplomat, a former ambassador, French resistance fighter, and a survivor of Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. He participated in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

Israel's illegal and immoral attack on the Freedom Flotilla humanitarian aid convoy, which left at least nine dead and dozens injured, has rightfully stunned the world. The all-civilian convoy of 6 ships carried over 10,000 tons of critically-needed humanitarian aid and nearly 700 citizens from 40 countries. The Flotilla was an ambitious attempt to break the siege imposed by Israel on the 1.5 million Palestinians of the occupied Gaza strip, since 2007. Carrying distinguished parliamentarians, religious leaders, authors, journalists, a Nobel Peace Laureate, and a Holocaust survivor, the relief convoy aimed not only to provide relief supplies to Gaza; it sought to direct the international spotlight towards the humanitarian crisis imposed on Gaza's residents and the imperative to end it. There is no denying that the latter objective has succeeded, albeit with tragic consequences.

The Israeli attack on the unarmed aid convoy in international waters was "[a clear] violation of international humanitarian law, international law of the seas, and [by most interpretations] international criminal law," to use the words of Richard Falk, Professor of International Law and UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. It is a sad reality that world governments have for too long become either complicit or apathetic to Israel's crimes and fostered its culture of impunity, under a shield of unquestionable backing by the US. Its initial condemnation notwithstanding, the US government has pressured the UN Security Council members, again, to adopt ambiguous language which relieves Israel of responsibility and creates parity between aggressor and victim.

Characteristically, the Israeli government has blamed the victims of its raid for attacking the Israeli soldiers, claiming "self-defense." Prominent legal expert and Director of the Sydney Centre for International Law at Sydney Law School, Professor Ben Saul, squarely refutes Israel's claim arguing: "Legally speaking, government military forces rappelling onto a ship to illegally capture it are treated no differently than other criminals. The right of self-defense in such situations rests with the passengers on board: a person is legally entitled to resist one's own unlawful capture, abduction and detention." He adds that "if Israeli forces killed people, they may not only have infringed the human right to life, but they may also have committed serious international crimes. Under article 3 of the Rome Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation of 1988, it is an international crime for any person to seize or exercise control over a ship by force, and also a crime to injure or kill any person in the process."

Despite UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon's statement calling for an end to Israel's illegal siege of Gaza, the Security Council has failed to call for an unconditional end to the blockade, allowing Israel to commit grave war crimes with impunity, as well documented in the UN Goldstone report.

The absence of meaningful action from governments to hold Israel accountable to international law leaves open one path for citizens of conscience: to take this responsibility upon themselves, as done against apartheid South Africa. Non-violent citizen-led initiatives, exemplified by the Flotilla and the various boycott and divestment campaigns around the world, present the most promising

way to overcome the failure of world governments to stand up to Israel's intransigence and lawless be havior. By flagrantly attacking the aid ship, Israel has inadvertently brought unprecedented awareness and condemnation not only of its fatal siege of Gaza but also of the wider context of Israel's occupation practices in the Palestinian Territories, its denial of Palestinian refugee rights, and its apartheid policies against the indigenous, "non-Jewish" citizens of Israel.

The Freedom Flotilla brings to mind the kind of civil society solidarity initiatives which brought an end to segregation laws in the US and apartheid in South Africa, an analogy impossible to ignore. Like the apartheid regime of South Africa, Israel's reaction has been to label this non-violent act an "intentional provocation." As in the case of South Africa, the call for international solidarity, in the form of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) came from an overwhelming majority of Palestinian civil society unions and organizations in 2005, and is being embraced by citizens of conscience and social movements worldwide. The BDS initiative calls for effectively isolating Israel, its complicit business, academic and cultural institutions, as well as companies profiting from its human rights violations and illegal policies, as long as these policies continue.

I believe that the BDS initiative is a moral strategy which has demonstrated its potential for success. Most recently, German Deutsche Bank became the latest of several European financial institutions and major pension funds to divest from Israeli arms manufacturer Elbit Systems. Last week, two main Italian supermarket chains announced a boycott of produce from illegal Israeli settlements. Last month, performers Elvis Costello and Gil Scott-Heron cancelled appearances in Israel. Reminiscent of the South African anti-apartheid popular struggle, the current generation of students across university campuses is actively calling upon their administrations to adopt divestment policies.

I endorse the heartfelt words of Scottish writer Iain Banks, who in reaction to Israel's atrocious attack on the Freedom Flotilla suggested that the best way for international artists, writers and academics to "convince Israel of its moral degradation and ethical isolation" is "simply by having nothing more to do with this criminal government."

Letter from Gaza students

This year, Evergreen students overwhelmingly passed two resolutions calling to divest from companies profiting from the occupation of Palestine. During the campaign, Evergreen students received this letter from students living in Gaza.

To our peers at The Evergreen State College:

Seven years ago, Rachel Corrie, one of Evergreen's students, was deliberately run over by an Israeli soldier driving a Caterpillar bulldozer as she prevented that bulldozer from demolishing a Gazan home. There is no week that passes without the Israeli army killing or wounding Palestinian civilians, without settlers harassing or attacking Palestinians, without the occupation forces demolishing Palestinian homes, destroying Palestinian farmland, and uprooting Palestinian olive trees. Their suffering occurs anonymously, when it is noticed at all—their stories buried underneath the rubble of their dead homes, their sorrow forgotten amidst a relentless campaign that tries to render it invisible.

We are writing to you as fellow students suffering from a deadly, hermetic siege in Gaza, who are prevented from pursuing further education inside Gaza or outside it. In all of the 35 academic institutions in the Strip, the shortage of books, educational material, and stationery leads many professors to resort to material edited from the internet, for their students to print or photocopy. The dropout rate grows higher every day, as students abandon their studies as a result of the high energy prices caused by fuel scarcity, discouraged by the difficulties of studying by candlelight, or structurally prevented from studying due to the lack of adequate or affordable transportation to their educational institutions.

Thousands of students, some of whom are minors, work in the tunnel industry, a life-threatening occupation to support their families and pay their tuition. The bombardment of these tunnels by the occupation forces and the pumping of mustard gas by the Egyptian authorities have suffocated many of these students, killing them. You will not hear their names on news broadcasts nor read them in newspapers around you. Palestinian dead are not only nameless and faceless. They don't even exist. They are without remembrances.

Friends, we strongly believe that through steadfast campaigns and grassroots efforts, those dissident voices—people of conscience and bravery—will be victorious. We remember the initial difficulties that the call for BDS (boycott, divestment, and sanctions) against Apartheid in South Africa encountered. It is important to mention that according to renowned anti-Apartheid South African activists, what we have achieved through the BDS call since 2005 is what BDS in South Africa came to achieve in 30 years!

The Congress of South African Trade Unions; the Irish, British, and Scottish trade unions; Sussex University of the UK; Hampshire College and University of Michigan—Dearborn of the United States; the sovereign states of Bolivia and Venezuela—all have endorsed the BDS call. During the Israeli aggression of December 2008 to January 2009, there were student occupations of more than 30 campuses in the UK.

From under the rubble of our destroyed homes, haunted by the traumatic memories of the 22-day bombardment of Gaza last year, of the buzzing Israeli surveillance planes above our heads, the naval gunboats firing from our sea, and the Apache helicopters, F-16, F-15, and F-35 planes dropping chemical, burning death on us from the skies, we salute your creative and courageous solidarity initia-

tive to divest from companies that support the heinous crimes that the Israeli occupation is responsible for in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The striking imbalance in power can only be overcome through an intensive and consistent international solidarity movement: namely, the BDS effort.

It is through these global solidarity movements that the Israeli Apartheid regime will be held to accountability. Through the support of freedom-loving people of conscience like yourselves, the blood of the families wiped off the map during Gaza 2009 will be redeemed, and their surviving kin will come to live in peace—the calming peace of justice achieved.

Carpe diem!

Palestinian Students' Campaign for the Academic Boycott of Israel (PSCABI) Gaza

Elvis Costello explains why he is cancelling his Israel tour

It is after considerable contemplation that I have lately arrived at the decision that I must withdraw from the two performances scheduled in Israel on the 30th of June and the 1st of July.

One lives in hope that music is more than mere noise, filling up idle time, whether intending to elate or lament.

Then there are occasions when merely having your name added to a concert schedule may be interpreted as a political act that resonates more than anything that might be sung and it may be assumed that one has no mind for the suffering of the innocent.

I must believe that the audience for the coming concerts would have contained many people who question the policies of their government on settlement and deplore conditions that visit intimidation, humiliation or much worse on Palestinian civilians in the name of national security.

I am also keenly aware of the sensitivity of these themes in the wake of so many despicable acts of violence perpetrated in the name of liberation.

Some will regard all of this an unknowable without personal experience but if these subjects are actually too grave and complex to be addressed in a concert, then it is also quite impossible to simply look the other way.

I offer my sincere apologies for any disappointment to the advance ticket holders as well as to the organizers.

My thanks also go to the members of the Israeli media with whom I had most rewarding and illuminating conversations. They may regard these exchanges as a waste of their time but they were of great value and help to me in gaining an appreciation of the cultural scene.

I hope it is possible to understand that I am not taking this decision lightly or so I may stand beneath any banner, nor is it one in which I imagine myself to possess any unique or eternal truth.

It is a matter of instinct and conscience.

It has been necessary to dial out the falsehoods of propaganda, the double game and hysterical language of politics, the vanity and self-righteousness of public communiqués from cranks in order to eventually sift through my own conflicted thoughts.

I have come to the following conclusions.

One must at least consider any rational argument that comes before the appeal of more desperate means.

Sometimes a silence in music is better than adding to the static and so an end to it.

I cannot imagine receiving another invitation to perform in Israel, which is a matter of regret but I can imagine a better time when I would not be writing this.

With the hope for peace and understanding.

Elvis Costello

A Renewed Call For Boycott, Divestment And Sanctions

The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) February 10, 2010

The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) was one of the first Israeli organizations to endorse a boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) campaign, issuing its to the international community already in January 2005. Over the past decade and a half ICAHD has played a key role in expanding the BDS campaign and working with groups around the world in identifying effective targets. This revised statement reaffirms ICAHD's support for BDS as an instrument of Palestinian liberation and brings our call into the framework of the Unified Palestinian Civil Society Call of 2005.

After more than four decades of diplomatic and grassroots efforts aimed at inducing Israel to end its Occupation while nevertheless watching it grow ever stronger and more permanent, ICAHD is issuing this statement in support of a campaign of BDS based upon the fundamental principles of the Unified Palestinian Civil Society Call:

- Ending Israel's occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;
- Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
- Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.

Such a formulation addresses the fundamental issues underlying the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians; it targets Israel's Occupation policy and its structured discrimination against its Arab-Palestinian citizens rather than Israel per se. Without specifying a particular solution to the conflict, a BDS campaign will be in effect either until Israel becomes a truly democratic state of all its citizens living peacefully alongside a Palestinian state or a single state, bi-national or unitary, which encompasses both peoples.

Since sanctions are a powerful, non-violent means of resisting oppression, ICAHD supports the following actions:

- Stopping the purchase of Israeli arms, security products and services by governments, local authorities and corporations, while making the sales or transfer of arms to Israel conditional upon their use in ways that do not perpetuate the Occupation or violate human rights and international humanitarian law;
 - Divesting from companies that profit from involvement in the Occupation or help perpetuate it;
- Boycott of settlement products, including annulment of the "Association Agreements" between Israel and the European Union due to Israeli violations of marketing settlements products as "Made in Israel" and the Agreements human right provisions;
- Boycott of Israeli academic institutions, which have not fulfilled their responsibility of upholding the academic freedoms of their Palestinian counterparts. Our call for an academic boycott means refraining from participation in any form of academic and cultural cooperation, collaboration or joint projects with Israeli institutions. It does not call for boycotting individual scholars or researchers in any way;
- Boycott of cultural events, be they performances of Israeli performers or artists abroad or of
 foreign performers and artists appearing in Israel, of participation in cultural events such as book or
 trade fairs held in Israel or of Israeli installations abroad, except those of Israelis and internationals
 who stand in solidarity with the principles listed above and whose performances at least refer to them;

- Boycott of participation in Israeli sports events and of Israel participation in sports events abroad;
- Endeavoring to get academic, professional and cultural associations to adopt resolutions condemning Israeli policies; and
- Holding individuals, be they policy-makers, military personnel carrying out orders or others, personally accountable for human rights violations, including trial before international courts and bans on travel to other countries.

ICAHD calls on the international community – the UN, governments, political parties, human rights and political groups, trade unions, university communities and faith-based organizations, as well as concerned individuals – to do everything possible to hold Israel accountable for its occupation policies and actions while ensuring the equal rights and security of both the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. We also call on the Palestinian Authority and other Palestinian political organizations to adhere to human rights conventions and support the joint efforts of our civil societies to reach an end to this tragic conflict and usher in a just peace for all the peoples of the region. The urgency of this appeal is of the utmost.

Boycott from Within points of unity

For Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) on behalf of Palestinian rights

We, Palestinians, Jews, citizens of Israel, join the Palestinian call for a BDS campaign against Israel, inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid. We also call on others to do the same.

As people devoted to the promotion of just peace and true democracy in this region, we are especially opposed to the international community's decision to boycott the Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. This is particularly outrageous given the international community's prolonged support of Israel's apartheid and other daily violations of international law.

We are deeply concerned about the potentially irreversible damage inflicted on Palestinians by both Israeli brutal occupation and international policies and have come to the conclusion that the occupation will end only when its cost for Israelis, its elites in particular, outweighs the benefits.

In light of attacks on boycott supporters, we emphasize that a critical stance against the occupation, including explicit BDS actions taken by individuals and organizations, are not Anti-Semitic. On the contrary, only resistance of this kind as part of the struggle for peace based on justice and equality will enable a common future for Arabs and Jews in the region.

We endorse the Palestinian call as is. We stand against all forms of racism and oppression and support and encourage BDS actions as a legitimate political activity and a necessary means of non-violent resistance. We will act inside and outside Israel to promote awareness and support of BDS.

(signed by by several Israelis, including Ofra Ben Artzi, Netanyahu's sister in law)

Palestinian Queers for BDS

27 June 2010

As Palestinian Queers, we see the Queer movements as political in their nature; and ones that analyze the intersections between different struggles, evaluate relations of power and try to challenge them. We firmly believe that fighting for the rights of oppressed and marginalized queer minorities cannot be separated from fighting against all forms of oppression around the world This is evident in the proud history of the queer movement worldwide, which has joined numerous global socio-political struggles against manifestations of oppression, imperialism, injustice, and discrimination wherever they exist. In continuation to this proud history, we Palestinian Queer activists, call upon the LG-BTQI communities around the globe to stand for justice in Palestine through adopting and implementing broad boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel until the latter has ended its multi-tiered oppression of the Palestinian people, in line with the 2005 Palestinian civil society call for BDS.

For 62 years, Israel's oppressive regime of colonization, occupation and apartheid has systematically and consistently denied the Palestinian people of their basic human rights. Palestinians living in the West Bank have been subjected to a brutal military occupation manifested by Israel's illegal colonies, checkpoints, and the apartheid wall. Palestinians living inside Israel continue to face systematic, legalized apartheid policies which discriminate against them in all walks of life, rendering them second class citizens, at best, inside Israel. The majority of Palestinians in the Diaspora continue to be denied their UN-sanctioned right of return to their homes The 1.8 million Palestinians in Gaza face the most brutal oppression of all as they live in an open air prison after years of the illegal Israeli siege on the Gaza strip, one that was described as 'slow genocide' by prominent international law experts.

This Israeli ongoing oppression of the Palestinian people does not differentiate between Palestinian Queers, and non-Queers. Not only Palestinian queers face these injustices on a daily basis and undergo the Israeli oppression like any other Palestinian, but also our name and struggle is often wrongly used and abused to "Pinkwash" Israel's continuous crimes against the whole Palestinian population. In the last years Israel has been leading an international campaign that tries to present Israel as the "only democracy" and the "gay haven" in the Middle East, while ironically portraying Palestinians, who suffer every single day from Israel's state racism and terrorism, as barbaric and homophobic.

Thus, we Palestinian queer activists call on Queer groups, organizations and individuals around the world to stand for justice and in the face of Israel's pinkwashing efforts through joining the global campaign for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it fully complies with international law, and ends its occupation, colonization and apartheid. We call on you to:

- Endorse the 2005 Palestinian civil society call for BDS, spread it in your Queer community.
- Reject all invitations to speak at and collaborate with Israeli universities and institutions, in accordance with the guidelines set by the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.
- Campaign against all activities aiming to Pinkwash Israel's crimes and oppression of the Palestinian people.
- Organize in your respective communities to initiate BDS campaigns, or join existing ones.

Excerpts of letters from Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb

Rabbi Gottlieb was one of the first female ordained rabbis in the US

Those who both decry Palestinian armed resistance and the option of boycott, divestment and sanctions can't have it both ways. Once you accept the fact that Israel's behavior toward Palestinians falls into the category of the crime of apartheid, BDS is the logical and ethical nonviolent response. If any other state were engaged in similar behavior, BDS would be an acceptable form of resistance, as it was in the case of South Africa.

Forty years of dialogue and negotiation with Israelis and Jews clearly has not worked to advance the cause of self-determination for Palestinians. The situation on the ground is far worse than ever before. The two state solution and all the peace plans and road maps have been undermined by the systematic effort to enclose Palestinians in bantustans and deny them civil and national rights. In this context, further efforts at dialogue only benefit those with privilege, unless they are accompanied by strategies of resistance to the systematic inequality Palestinians face on a daily basis.

The miracle that is occurring however, is the growth of a wide spread movement for Palestinian non-violence that involves both constructive peace building including hanging on to land, youth programs, theatre groups, women's organizations, fair trade industries and more. Of course, building on resources is accompanied by acts of noncooperation with the constant pressure of systematic displacement through acts of nonviolent street protest and the use of BDS. Two weeks ago, those in Hebron protesting the closure of Shuhada Street handed out red penalty cards to soldiers in honor of the World Cup. Every single person I spoke to believes that international partnerships that spread the use of BDS is a sign of hope. And hope about the end of occupation is in short supply....

Building a solidarity movement to protect those targeted for forced displacement is about human rights, not identity partisanship. While MLK called for all of us to live together on a color blind future based on dignity, he also used the instrument of boycott (remember Montgomery) to apply pressure from the grassroots to dismantle the systematic policy of segregation used to suppress African Americans in the United States. It is this sort of pressure that is needed now....

Those 'who still dream' of a two state solution better wake up to the reality on the ground. The most effective strategy at the moment is the instrument of noncooperation. And it is working.

The Cairo Declaration

January 1, 2010

We, international delegates meeting in Cairo during the Gaza Freedom March 2009 in collective response to an initiative from the South African delegation, state:

In view of:

- Israel's ongoing collective punishment of Palestinians through the illegal occupation and siege of Gaza;
- the illegal occupation of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the continued construction of the illegal Apartheid Wall and settlements;
- the new Wall under construction by Egypt and the US which will tighten even further the siege of Gaza;
- the contempt for Palestinian democracy shown by Israel, the US, Canada, the EU and others after the Palestinian elections of 2006;
- the war crimes committed by Israel during the invasion of Gaza one year ago;
- the continuing discrimination and repression faced by Palestinians within Israel;
- and the continuing exile of millions of Palestinian refugees;
- all of which oppressive acts are based ultimately on the Zionist ideology which underpins Israel;
- in the knowledge that our own governments have given Israel direct economic, financial, military and diplomatic support and allowed it to behave with impunity;
- and mindful of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2007)

We reaffirm our commitment to:

- Palestinian Self-Determination
- Ending the Occupation
- Equal Rights for All within historic Palestine
- The full Right of Return for Palestinian refugees

We therefore reaffirm our commitment to the United Palestinian call of July 2005 for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) to compel Israel to comply with international law.

To that end, we call for and wish to help initiate a global mass, democratic anti-apartheid movement to work in full consultation with Palestinian civil society to implement the Palestinian call for BDS.

Mindful of the many strong similarities between apartheid Israel and the former apartheid regime in South Africa, we propose:

- 1. An international speaking tour in the first 6 months of 2010 by Palestinian and South African trade unionists and civil society activists, to be joined by trade unionists and activists committed to this programme within the countries toured, to take mass education on BDS directly to the trade union membership and wider public internationally;
 - 2. Participation in the Israeli Apartheid Week in March 2010;
- 3. A systematic unified approach to the boycott of Israeli products, involving consumers, workers and their unions in the retail, warehousing, and transportation sectors;

- 4. Developing the Academic, Cultural and Sports boycott;
- 5. Campaigns to encourage divestment of trade union and other pension funds from companies directly implicated in the Occupation and/or the Israeli military industries;
- 6. Legal actions targeting the external recruitment of soldiers to serve in the Israeli military, and the prosecution of Israeli government war criminals; coordination of Citizen's Arrest Bureaux to identify, campaign and seek to prosecute Israeli war criminals; support for the Goldstone Report and the implementation of its recommendations;
 - 7. Campaigns against charitable status of the Jewish National Fund (JNF).

We appeal to organisations and individuals committed to this declaration to sign it and work with us to make it a reality.

Endorsed by nearly 200 organizations, including:

Women in Black (several chapters internationally)
Pax Christi
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Code Pink
Industrial Workers of the World
International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network
National Lawyers Guild—Free Palestine Subcommittee
BOYCOTT! Supporting the Palestinian BDS Call from Within (Israel)
The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions

Willie Madisha, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) June 6, 2006

On May 27, 2006, the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) passed a resolution supporting BDS "until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination." Willie Madisha, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), wrote this letter in response.

On behalf over 1.2 million South African workers organized under the banner of COSATU I greet you in the name of worker internationalism. It is this solidarity, since the formation of the very first union and across space and time, often in the face of harsh repression, that provided vital moral succour and allowed workers to strengthen their resolve against oppression and exploitation.

In this spirit and with great pride, I congratulate CUPE Ontario for their historic resolution on May 27th in support of the Palestinian people—those living under occupation and those millions of Palestinian refugees living in the Diaspora. We fully support your resolution.

As someone who lived in apartheid South Africa and who has visited Palestine, I say with confidence that Israel is an apartheid state. In fact, I believe that some of the atrocities committed by the erstwhile apartheid regime in South Africa pale in comparison to those committed against the Palestinians.

The latest outrage by the apartheid Israeli regime—the construction of the hideous Apartheid Wall—condemned by the International Court of Justice—extends the occupation of Palestinian lands, disrupts the already precarious economic, social, health and education well being of an entire people and entrenches the Bantustanisation of Palestine.

When the governments of the world turn a blind eye to these injustices; when they are seduced by apartheid Israel's justification of brutality through the pretext of 'security'; when they silence criticism of state terror through the canard of 'anti-semitism'—then it is time for the global workers movement to stand firm and principled against hypocrisy and double standards. We cannot remain silent any longer. It is time to stand in word and in deed with the peoples of the Middle East and heed their call to support the struggle against occupation. There will be no peace in this region and in the world, without justice.

Despite the action of some Western governments and big business, workers and democrats of the world including the citizens of Canada, heeded our call when we struggled against apartheid. Boycotts, disinvestments and sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa hastened our march to democracy. Why should it be different for Palestinians? In the face of an intransigent, arrogant, racist and brutal Israeli state, this strategy of isolation—particularly since the vast majority of Palestinians support it—should be applied to Israel as well. It is a peaceful option.

South African workers will never forget the support given by the Israeli state to the apartheid South African regime. In the same way we will never forget the thousands of acts of solidarity of ordinary citizens around the world who sustained our struggle through the boycott weapon.

COSATU supports the demand that Apartheid Israel must respect and implement all resolutions passed by the United Nations; that the right of return of Palestinian refugees must not be compromised; that Israel respects the democratically elected government of Palestine; and that Palestinian taxes collected by Israel must be returned to the elected representatives of Palestine unconditionally.

Those supporting the ideology of Zionism and the pro-Israeli lobby will muster their substantial resources against you. Despite these pressures, we ask you not to doubt for a single moment the correctness of your just stand. We salute the courage and vision of CUPE Ontario's leadership and members in unanimously passing resolution 50. Your unwavering resolve inspires us, we who lived through decades of apartheid oppression, as it will undoubtedly inspire and endear you to millions of Palestinian and other freedom loving people throughout the world.

In Solidarity
Willie Madisha
President
Congress of South African Trade Unions

Excerpts from press resleases, June 2010:

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU):

COSATU also calls for greater support for the international boycott, divestment and sanction campaign against Israel, which is proving again to be violent and ruthless in attacking and murdering those who stand in its way. We urge all South Africans to refuse to buy or handle any goods from Israel or have any dealings with Israeli businesses.

South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union (SATAWU):

We call for an escalation of the boycott of Israeli goods and call upon our fellow trade unionists not to handle them. We call upon our members not to allow any Israeli ship to dock or unload in any South African port.

[T]here is a deep Jewish tradition of social justice and respect for co-habitation from which perspective the occupation is abhorrent. Some of us call on this Jewish tradition in our support for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions. But more importantly, none of us are "marginalized" by the BDS movement. In fact we are empowered and encouraged by it.

—International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network, Chicago chapter

For so many painful reasons, it is just so hard for us to see Israel as an oppressor—to admit that despite all of the vulnerability we feel as Jews, the power dynamic is dramatically, overwhelmingly weighted in Israel's favor. Though a movement like BDS might feel on a visceral level like just one more example of the world piling on the Jews and Israel, we need to be open to the possibility that it might more accurately be described as the product of a weaker, dispossessed, disempowered people doing what it must to resist oppression.

—Brant Rosen, one of Newsweek's top 25 US pulpit rabbis

"[A]mong [those calling for a boycott] are groups and individuals, including quite a few Jews, for whom Israel is close to their hearts. They want a just Israel. They see an Israel that occupies and is clearly unjust, and they believe they should do something. We should thank them for this from the bottom of our hearts."

-Gideon Levy, Israeli journalist

EXHIBIT C

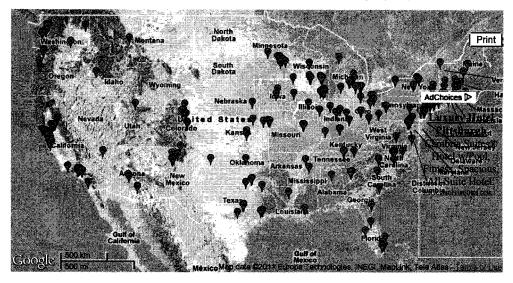
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Member Organizations

In efforts to better help our coalition members network and for us to better gauge the coalition's regional diversity, we have put together a map, below, with our nearly **380** members groups represented.



View US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation in a larger map

You can also search by state using the list below.

If you do not see your organization represented, please consider joining us by clicking **here**. **Please note** that in order to see all organizations active in a given state, you must search by state--otherwise not all organizations will display.

Listing All Member Organizations

Search Member Organizations

By State/Province Entered Date

Search

U.S. Citizens Against War (Florence, Italy)

gilbert@fol.it

Alaska

Alaskans for Palestine

Anchorage, AK

Alaskansforpalestine@gmail.com

(907) 575-6086

Alabama

×

Birmingham Peace Project

Birmingham, AL

dianemcnaron@aol.com (205) 838-1391

.....

Arizona

CODEPINK Arizona

Phoenix, AZ

caterliz@yahoo.com

(480) 236-0051

×

Students for Justice in Palestine- Arizona State University

Phoenix, AZ

pr@sjpalestine.com

Islamic Reform

Tucson, AZ

edipyuksel@gmail.com

(520) 481-1919

Tucson Women in Black

Tucson, AZ

racheli@sonoracohousing.com

(520) 407-1432

California

Buena Vista United Methodist Church

Alameda, CA

oaksidea@sbcglobal.net

(510) 522-2688

Bay Area Women in Black

Berkeley, CA

bayareawomeninblack@yahoo.com

Global March to Jerusalem - North America

Berkeley, CA

organize@gmj-na.org

(510) 224-3518

×

Jewish Voice for Peace - Bay Area

Berkeley, CA

bayarea@jewishvoiceforpeace.org

Middle East Children's Alliance (MECA)

Berkeley, CA

meca@mecaforpeace.org

(510) 548-0542

Stop AIPAC

Berkeley, CA

people@stopaipac.org

Tikkun Community

Berkeley, CA

(510) 644-1200

Middle East Fellowship

Brea, CA

peter@mef-la.org

(714) 529-1926

United Methodists' Holy Land Task Force

Culver City, CA

basilenow@aol.com

323-253-9087

Sept11 Action

Danville, CA

pdrich@pacbell.net

925-309-4569

Davis Committee for Palestinian Rights

×

Davis, CA

fabersunne@sbcglobal.net

(530) 747-0185

Davis Peace Coalition

Davis, CA

ag@omsoft.com

Free Palestine Movement

El Cerrito, CA

larudee@pacbell.net

(510) 232-2500

International Solidarity Movement - NorCal Support Group

El Cerrito, CA

larudee@norcalism.org

(510) 236-4250

Israel-Palestine Task Force, California-Nevada Annual Conference

Fair Oaks, CA

Igeorgepomo@comcast.net

(916) 601-5226

Palestine-Israel Action Coalition

Felton, CA

firehockey@cruzio.com

(831) 234-6522

Tri-City Peace & Justice

Fremont, CA

ksobeid@landtech.com

510-684-6154

Inglewood Civil Rights Coalition

Inglewood, CA

jdemaegt@sbcglobal.net

(310) 673-4302

National Lawyers Guild International Committee

Inverness, CA

Iredmond3@hotmail.com

(415) 669-1745

American Friends Service Committee - Pacific South West Region

Los Angeles, CA

emason@afsc.org

(213) 489-1900

BDS-LA for Justice in Palestine

Los Angeles, CA

bdsinla@gmail.com

(213) 926-2960

LA Jews for Peace

Los Angeles, CA

info@LAJewsforPeace.org

(562) 694-1637

Peace Coalition of Monterey County

Monterey, CA

georgeriley@hotmail.com

831-645-9914

Bishop John S. Cummins Institute for Catholic Thought, Culture a

Moraga, CA

DFMansir@aol.com

(925) 377-3563

Palestine Israel Working Group (PIWG)

Nevada City, CA

piwginfo@gmail.com

530-277 8807

Americans for a Palestinian State Political Action Committee

Oakland, CA

gerald@apstate.us

(510) 654-5531

Bay Area Labor Committee for Peace & Justice

Oakland, CA

m_eisenscher@uslaboragainstwar.org

(510) 436-6125

COMMIT- Community Leadership Institute: Growing Justice & Accoun

Oakland, CA

tammy@growingjustice.org

(215) 749-0960

Jewish Voice for Peace - National

Oakland, CA

sydney@jvp.org

(510) 465-1777

Middle East Policy Advisory Committee (MEPAC)

Oakland, CA

genesto@aol.com

510-444-1450 x105

War Times

Oakland, CA

sak47@cornell.edu

202-631-7396

The Rebuilding Alliance

Palo Alto, CA

dbw@rebuildingalliance.org

650-325-4663, 650-261-123

Holy Cross Melkite - Greek Catholic Church

Placentia, CA

hcmelkite@holycrossmelkite.org

(714) 985-1710

Jewish Voice for Peace - Sacramento

Sacramento, CA

dimandel@pacbell.net

(916) 446-5066

Middle East Peace Project

Sacramento, CA

lgeorgepomo@comcast.net

916-961-2004

Sacramento Regional Coalition Palestinian Rights

Sacramento, CA

sacramentoBDS@gmail.com

(916) 448-7157

Keep Hope Alive

San Anselmo, CA

waltandlibby@comcast.net

(415) 453-1875

Olive Tree Campaign-USA

San Anselmo, CA

kazancian@sbcglobal.net

415-456-8653

Peace & Democracy Action Group of the First UU Church of San Die

San Diego, CA

(858) 459-4650 San Diego Coalition for Peace and Justice San Diego, CA info@sdcpj.org (619) 263-9301 American Friends Service Committee - Pacific Mountain Region San Francisco, CA asolomonow@afsc.org (415) 565-0201 Friends of Deir Ibzi'a San Francisco, CA friends@deiribzia.org (510) 848-6786 Global Exchange × San Francisco, CA malia@globalexchange.org (415) 255-7296 **Justice for Palestinians** × San Jose, CA cats4jazz@gmail.com (408) 293-4774 **South Bay Mobilization** san jose, CA activist@sbm4peace.org 408 8879464 **Peace Action of San Mateo County** San Mateo, CA mikaggiano@aol.com 650-342-8244 14 Friends of Palestine - Marin San Rafael, CA 14friendsofpalestine@gmail.com Americans for a Just Peace in the Middle East Santa Barbara, CA info@ajpme.org (805) 455-8256 Resource Center For Nonviolence, Middle East Program Santa Cruz, CA kenncruz@pacbeli.net 831-423-1626 x 107 Women in Black - Los Angeles Santa Monica, CA kpally@earthlink.net 310-399-1921 **Palestine Aid Society** Van Nuys, CA nidal.barakat@sbcglobal.net **CODEPINK Los Angeles** Venice, CA jodie@codepinkalert.org (310) 827-4320 **CODEPINK National** Venice, CA jodieevans@gmail.com (310) 827-3046 Monterey County Citizens for Middle East Peace

Watsonville, CA rikimo@redshift.com 831-786-0769 Colorado Boulder Branch, Women's International League for Peace and Freed X Boulder, CO leslielomas@comcast.net 303-449-0868 Colorado Jews for a Just Peace Boulder, CO lomas@colorado.edu 303-449-0868 CU-Divest! Boulder, CO michael.rabb1@gmail.com 720-837-9674 **Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center** Boulder, CO carolyn@rmpjc.org 303-444-6981 **Coloradans For Peace** Colorado Springs, CO eric@coloradansforpeace.org 719.460.2836 Pikes Peak Justice and Peace Commission Colorado Springs, CO yennewg@earthlink.net (719) 632-6189 Aware! Denver, CO ryan@awarecommunities.org 303.437.2183 Colorado Palestine Solidarity Campaign Denver, CO coloradopalestine@gmail.com Friends of Sabeel - Colorado (303) 300-3838 Front Range Coalition for Mideast Justice & Peace Denver, CO k-wilde@juno.com 303-296-4708 Strength Through Peace Fort Collins, CO info@cjpe.org 970-419-8944 **Connecticut** We Refuse to be Enemies Bristol, CT antar@ccsu.edu 860-832-2932 **American Friends Service Committee - Connecticut** Hartford, CT connecticut@afsc.org **U.S. Peace Council**

New Haven, CT

grnhpeacecouncil@gmail.com 203-387-0370 Tree of Life Educational Fund X Old Lyme, CT fccol@snet.net 860 434-8686 People of Faith CT West Hartford, CT 860-841-5006 **Middle East Crisis Committee** Woodbridge, CT mail@thestruggle.org (203) 934-2761 **District of Columbia** American Association for Palestinian Equal Rights (AAPER) Washington, DC gsnaggiar1@yahoo.com (202) 683-8438 American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee - National Washington, DC organizing@adc.org 202-244-2990 **Black Voices for Peace** Washington, DC feliciae2@yahoo.com 202-332-2003 Coalition for Justice & Accountability Washington, DC (888) 810-6202 Congress of Arab-American Organizations (CAAO) Washington, DC saltaf@aaiusa.org 202-429-9210 **Council for the National Interest** × Washington, DC inform@cnionline.org (202) 863-2951 Gaza Freedom March - US Washington, DC info@gazafreedommarch.org (202) 412-6700 **Green Party of the United States** Washington, DC justinemccabe@earthlink.net 202-319-7191 **Human Rights Today** Washington, DC da@humanrightstoday.org 202.531.0185 **Institute for Policy Studies** Washington, DC phyllis@ips-dc.org 202-234-9382 ext 206 **Interfaith Peace-Builders** Washington, DC office@ifpb.org

202-244-0821



Methodist Federation for Social Action

Washington, DC mfsa@mfsaweb.org (202) 546-8806

Metro DC Committee of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism

Washington, DC

wteague@verizon.net

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)

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ctoensing@merip.org

(202) 223-3677

Nonviolence International

Washington, DC

nonviolence@igc.org

202-244-0951

Palestine Media Project

Washington, DC

palmediaproject@yahoo.com

(202) 449-5643

Pax Christi USA: National Catholic Peace Movement

Washington, DC

jean@paxchristiusa.org

202-319-5543

Save Gaza

Washington, DC

fariza.shah@gmail.com

703-380-1010

Sharing Jerusalem USA

Washington, DC

202-234-5817

The Palestine Center

Washington, DC

sassad@palestinecenter.org

202-338-1290

The Palestine Freedom Project

Washington, DC

info@palestinefreedom.org

TransAfrica Forum

Washington, DC

mmunthali@transafricaforum.org

202-223-1960

United Methodist General Board of Church and Society

Washington, DC

mharrison@umc-gbcs.org

202-488-5645

Washington Interfaith Alliance for Middle East Peace

Washington, DC

john.salzberg@verizon.net

202-244-0118

Florida

Florida Palestine Solidarity Network

Bradenton, FL

850-417-2766

WeAreWideAwake.org

Clermont, FL

ecumei@gmail.com

(352) 242-1919 Palestinian American Organization at FAU Coral Springs, FL nfawzy@fau.edu (954) 851-3172 **Duval Greens** Jacksonville, FL eddiek1959@yahoo.com 904-389-6362 Student for Justice in Palestine- FIU Miami , FL sjp@fiu.edu n/a South Florida Palestine Solidarity Network North Miami Beach, FL Activist.Malik@gmail.com 305-761-6843 South Florida Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions × Surfside, FL nylensky@yahoo.com 305-785-9088 **Humanists for Peace** West Palm Beach, FL sabletide@yahoo.com (321) 368-5093 Georgia **American Friends Service Committee - Southeast Region** Atlanta, GA SERO@afsc.org (404) 586-0460 Emory Advocates for Justice in Palestine Atlanta, GA eajpcc@gmail.com 404 790 1585 **Georgia Peace and Justice Coalition** Atlanta, GA Peace.JusticeATL@gmail.com 404-522-4500 Movement to End Israeil Apartheid-Georgia Atlanta, GA contact@meiag.org 404-507-6502 **Atlanta Friends Meeting** Decatur, GA afmquakers@hotmail.com 404-377-2474 Joining Hands Against Hunger Atlanta/ Palestine Tucker, GA answertohunger@bellsouth.net Hawaii Friends of Sabeel - Hawaii Honolulu, HI mabrown@hawaiiantel.net 808-988-2356 Iowa

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American Frie	ends Service Committee - Iowa
Des Moines, IA	
kmcquillen@a 515-274-4851,	
Iowans for a Fr Des Moines, IA	ee Palestine - Des Moines
Peacemaking	Group, East Iowa Presbytery
Iowa City, IA	-
(319) 354-787 Idaho	,
Idaho Campaig	n to End Israeli Apartheid
Boise, ID	ncore@lists.riseup.net
Illinois	
	American Friends Service Committee - Great Lakes Region Chicago, IL mrashid@afsc.org (312) 427-2533 x18
Chicago Chur	ch Network for Education on Palestine
Chicago, IL	
bakerce@aol.e 630-532-1660	com

Chicago Faith Chicago, IL	Coalition on Middle East Policy
n-smith1@sea	abury.edu
(847) 491-695	5
Chicagoans A	gainst Apartheid in Palestine
Chicago, IL	
caap_mail@ya 312-804-2822	and control of the co
Christian Pea	cemaker Teams (CPT)
Chicago, IL	
tarek.abuata@	
(773) 376-055	0
Episcopal Pea Chicago, IL	ce Fellowship
epfnational@a	ameritech.net
312-922-8628	
×	Episcopal Peace Fellowship Palestine-Israel Network
	Chicago, IL epfnational@ameritech.net 312-922-8628
Chicago, IL	Socialist Organization
773-583-5069	rnationalsocialist.org
International S	olidarity Movement-Chicago chapter
Chicago, IL	The state of the s
ISMinChicago	@aol.com
773-267-5198	
Students for Ju Chicago, IL	stice in Palestine- DePaul University
sjpdepaul@gr	nail.com
n/a	
Tikkun Chicago	

Chicago, IL Llang944@aol.com (312) 944-1681 **Evanston Mennonite Peace and Social Concerns Committee** Evanston, IL mcb9476@comcast.net 847-344-0771 Jewish Voice for Peace - Chicago Evanston, IL chicago@jewishvoiceforpeace.org 847-902-4455 Northern Illinois End the Occupation Organization Naperville, IL bagley@computer.org (630) 355-5023 Arab Jewish Partnership for Peace and Justice in the Middle East Oak Park, IL phss2530@gmail.com 312-339-9740 Committee for a Just Peace in Israel and Palestine Oak Park, IL cvslevy@aol.com (708) 445-9004 **American Muslims for Palestine** Palos Hills, IL kristin@ampalestine.org 708-598-4265 **Peoria Area Peace Network** Peoria, IL peril36@yahoo.com 309-681-9892 Anti-War Anti-Racism Effort (AWARE) Urbana, IL n/a@gmail.com n/a Indiana Church of God Peace Fellowship Anderson, IN (765) 620-9095 June 1st Peace & Justice Coalition Evansville, IN borein1959@msn.com 812-459-4929 Christians for Peace and Justice in the Middle East Indianapolis, IN (317) 283-3760 Indiannapolis Code Pink Indiannapolis, IN mbartoniaw@aol.com 317-354-1707 **BDS Earlham** Richmond, IN bdsearlham@gmail.com (765) 960-7205 Students for Peace and Justice in Palestine - Earlham College

Students for Peace and Justice in Palestine - Earlham College Richmond, IN

spjp@earlham.edu 6175129984

Purdue Students for Justice in Palestine

West Lafayette, IN

purduesjp@gmail.com

7654189592

Kansas

Kansans for a Just Peace in the Middle East

Lawrence, KS

judybonifield@yahoo.com

Citizens for Justice in the Middle East

Lenexa, KS

gingerk@everestkc.net

913-362-8362

Manhattan Alliance for Peace and Justice

Manhattan, KS

mapj@mapj.org

(785) 537-2025

Peace Connections

Newton, KS info@peaceconnections.org

316-284-0000

Peace and Social Justice Center of South Central Kansas

Wichita, KS

dwahto@cox.net

316-263-5886 **Kentucky**

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Fellowship of Reconcilliation - Louisville Chapter

Louisville, KY

edwardsfor@bellsouth.net

502-458-8056

×

Israel Palestine Mission Network- Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

Louisville , KY

chylkema@wowway.com

(313) 561-1372

Louisville Committee for Israeli/Palestinian States

Louisville, KY

marmionlvl@yahoo.com

502-451-5658

Louisville Committee for Peace in the Middle East Louisville, KY

pgeier@fastmail.fm

502-609-7985

Louisiana

Nolley Memorial United Methodist Church

Jena, LA

NOLA Palestine Solidarity

New Orleans, LA

neworleans@leftturn.org

504-552-2761

Massachusetts

Merrimack Valley People for Peace

Andover, MA

macpanther@mac.com

978-965-2168

Middle East Crisis Coalition

Arlington, MA (781) 316-2018 American Friends Service Committee - Southern New England Attleboro, MA myager@afsc.org 401-521-3584 American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee - Massachusetts Boston, MA info@adcma.org 617-262-8902 **Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts Middle East Peace Group** Boston, MA tgaiser@diomass.org 617.482.5800 **Grassroots International** Boston, MA salena@grassrootsonline.org 617-524-1400 Jewish Voice for Peace - Boston Boston, MA mrfederman@earthlink.net Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Boston, MA (617) 266-0999 American Jews For A Just Peace Cambridge, MA info@ajjpboston.org 617-984-0532 **Birthright Unplugged** Cambridge, MA info@birthrightunplugged.org Unitarian Universalists for Justice in the Middle East Cambridge, MA snye5@verizon.net 617-661-9000 **United for Justice with Peace Coalition** Cambridge, MA ujpcoalition@yahoo.com (617) 491-4857 **Dorchester People for Peace** × Dorchester, MA jjk123@comcast.net (617) 282-3783 North Shore Coalition for Peace and Justice Gloucester, MA susantnicholson@comcast.net 978-283-5030 **Boston Coalition for Palestinian Rights** × Jamaica Plain, MA numurray@comcast.net 617-522-4774 Students for Justice in Palestine- Tufts University Medford, MA Imkoerner@verizon.net 215-307-0821

Trans-Arab Research Institute (TARI)

North Dartmouth, MA
naruri@aol.com
561-243-9811
Middle East Repea Cos

Middle East Peace Coalition Northampton, MA (413) 586-0215

Progressive Democrats of America

Orleans, MA

brt@brucetaub.net

617-529-7129

Watertown Citizens for Environmental Safety

Watertown, MA

mail@watertowncitizens.org

617-926-8560 x 2

×

Taanit Tzedek: Jewish Fast for Gaza West Tisbury, MA rabbibrianwalt@gmail.com 508-560-0589

Maryland

Baltimore Tikkun Community

Baltimore, MD

ruth@cramercrystal.com

410-323-7164

Boveri International Workgroup

Bethesda, MD

boveri@attglobal.net

301-530-2782

River Road Unitarian Universalist Congregation

Bethesda, MD

krysjacke@starpower.net

301-229-0400

Muslim Community Support Services, Inc.

Brooklandville, MD

info@mcss-usa.org

(410) 988-2929



Committee for Palestinian Rights Columbia, MD CPR_Maryland@yahoo.com

Marylanders for a Free Palestine and a Secure Israel

Ellicott City, MD

4bobkras@comcast.net

410-461-2040

Peace & Justice Coalition, Prince George's County

Lanham, MD

justpeacepg@earthlink.net

301-577-2350

Peace Action Montgomery

Olney, MD

info@PeaceActionMC.org

301-570-0923

Carlisle Peace College

Sandy Spring, MD

kemcclanen@yahoo.com

302-260-7447

Jewish Voice for Peace - DC Metro

Silver Spring, MD

scfudge@gmail.com

301-580-9224 **Peace Action** × Silver Spring, MD kmartin@peace-action.org (301) 537-8244 Maine **Radio Free Maine** Augusta, ME rleisnerrfm@yahoo.com 207 242-0643 Maine Peace and Justice in Israel and Palestine Portland, ME guide.freedomtrail1850@yahoo.com (207) 774-1110 Pax Christi Maine Portland, ME william.slavick@maine.edu 207-773-6562 **Peace Action Maine** Portland, ME info@peaceactionme.org 207-772-0680 Michigan Ann Arbor Boycott Israeli Goods (BIG) Ann Arbor, MI 734-665-4010 Ann Arbor Justice in the Middle East Advocacy Group Ann Arbor, MI gagarcia@umich.edu 734-995-0594 InterDenominational Advocates for Peace (IDAP) Ann Arbor, MI agr1@mac.com (734) 747-9220 Muslim Students' Association of University of Michigan Ann Arbor Ann Arbor, MI msa-eboard@umich.edu **Palestine Israel Action Group** Ann Arbor, MI piag_@mac.com 734-747-9220 Students Allied for Freedom and Equality Ann Arbor, MI **MidEast: Just Peace** Cedar, MI maryheffron@mindspring.com 231-228-7115 **Palestine Office** Dearborn, MI palestineoffice@sbcglobal.net 313-945-9660 The Arab American News Dearborn, MI osiblani@ameritech.net 313-582-4888 **Jewish Voice for Peace - Detroit**

Detroit, MI jvpdetroit@gmail.com 313-567-4228 **Peace Education Center** East Lansing, MI peaceedcenter@gmail.com 517-889-1175 International Solidarity Movement - Michigan Lansing, MI duggan@umich.edu (810) 287-8888 Michigan Peace Team Lansing, MI michiganpeaceteam@gmail.com 517-484-3178 **Earth Force United** Perry, MI earthforceunited@aol.com 517-281-6582 Kalamazoo Nonviolent Opponents of War (KNOW) Portage, MI newsFromKnow@gmail.com (269) 806-8477 The Home for Peace and Justice Saginaw, MI HomeforPax@aol.com 989-792-9766 **Minnesota** Middle East Peace Now Hastings, MN steichenfm@usfamily.net 651-696-1642 **Coalition for Palestinian Rights** Minneapolis, MN kushn002@umn.edu 612-288-0545 Minnesota Break The Bonds Campaign × Minneapolis, MN mn@breakthebonds.org 641-220-3147 **Women Against Military Madness** Minneapolis, MN wamm@mtn.org 612-827-5364 Northfielders for Justice in Palestine/Israel Northfield, MN darlenebc43@msn.com 507-663-0516 Palestine/Israel Justice Project of the MN Annual Conference Paynesville, MN ricgumc@clearwire.net 320-243-3601 **Minnesota Peace Project** Plymouth, MN

rabbas@usinternet.com

Red Wing Alliance for Peace Red Wing, MN lriggo2@aol.com 651-388-6730 Missouri **Muslim American Society- Kansas City** Kansas City, MO Fadikc@gmail.com 816-213-3022 SLU Solidarity with Palestine Saint Louis, MO slusolidarity@gmail.com none **Veterans For Peace** × St Louis, MO dennis@veteransforpeace.org (314) 725-6005 Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, St. Louis Province St. Louis, MO justice@csjsl.org 314-678-0317 St. Louis Palestine Solidarity Committee - Instead of War St. Louis, MO info@stl-psc.org 803-760-9208 Mississippi Campus Antiwar Network | Ole Miss olemissCAN@gmail.com 810 599 0577 Montana Helena Peace Seekers × Helena, MT knightrea@hotmail.com (406) 431-6327 **North Carolina AMPLE PAC** Cary, NC mail@mapacnc.com **Coalition for Peace with Justice** Chapel Hill, NC cpwj.contact@gmail.com 919-967-5181 Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD)-USA Chapel Hill, NC info@icahdusa.org (919) 277-0632 SPEAC-Solidarity with Palestine through Education and Action at Chapel Hill, NC **Action Center For Justice** Charlotte, NC charlotteaction@gmail.com (704) 492-5226 American Arab Association Charlotte, NC **Charlotte 4 Palestine**

Charlotte, NC charlotte4palestine@gmail.com North Carolina Boycott Divestment Sanctions (NCBDS) Durham, NC bdsactions@gmail.com 919 688 3419 The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina Durham, NC djhicks2790@earthlink.net (919) 688-3419 Fayetteville Peace with Justice Fayetteville, NC rsmith38@suddenlink.net (910) 678-9698 **Muslim American Public Affairs Council (MAPAC)** Raleigh, NC mail@mapacnc.com (919) 278-7568 In the Name of Humanity × Rocky Mount, NC rsmith38@suddenlink.net Nebraska Citizens for Palestinian Self Determination Lincoln, NE cpsd@rocketmail.com (402) 466-3555 **New Jersey American Arab Forum** Denville, NJ aref@aafusa.org (973) 960-2673 Take Action for Peace Pittstown, NJ **Palestinian American Organization of Rutgers** Rutgers, NJ atahindi@yahoo.com **New Mexico** Another Jewish Voice of Albuquerque × Albuquerque, NM jhart@swcp.com (505) 205-5215 Coalition to Stop \$30 Billion to Israel Albuquerque, NM dtwm@earthlink.net 505-898-4544 Middle East Peace and Justice Alliance Albuquerque, NM kcelav@aol.com 505-480-9008 University of New Mexico Students for Justice in Palestine × Albuquerque, NM unmsjp@gmail.com 505-850-9554 Women in Black - Santa Fe

http://www.endtheoccupation.org/groups.php

505-470-6772

Albuquerque, NM miller.katya@gmail.net

CODEPINK Taos El Prado, NM innerlight52@hotmail.com (575) 751-4130 Lutheran Peace Group Jemez Springs, NM glenthamert@yahoo.com Justice First! in US Policies for Palestine/Israel and the Middl Placitas, NM (505) 404-0591 Another Jewish Voice, Santa Fe Santa Fe, NM jeffhhaas@aol.com 505-995-9866 Tikkun Community of Santa Fe Santa Fe, NM godaken@aol.com Nevada Western Horizons Las Vegas, NV omarafifeh@gmail.com 505-720-0300 **New York US To Gaza** Bearsville, NY ustogaza@gmail.com 845-679-5500 **Brooklyn For Peace** × Brooklyn, NY is.pales@brooklynpeace.org (718) 624-5921 Fair Play Media Brooklyn, NY NadiaSaah@aol.com 301.908.1791 **Susan Marie Public Relations** Buffalo, NY susan.marie.1971@gmail.com 716-783-7067 **Western New York Peace Center** Buffalo, NY director@wnypeace.org 716-894-2013 Central New York Working for a Just Peace in Palestine and Israe Cazenovia, NY patcarmeli@hotmail.com (315) 546-4514 **Committee for Peace in Israel and Palestine** East Hampton, NY silviat@optonline.net 631-324-9618 Pax Christi Long Island Greenlawn, NY scroke@verizon.net 631 427 5823

Upper Hudson Peace Action

Greenville, NY KPREHM@aol.com 518-966-5366 Students for Justice in Palestine -- Cornell University Ithaca, NY dns52@cornell.edu 763 3509385 American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee - New York City New York, NY 212-480-2955 Artists Against Apartheid New York, NY action@artistsagainstapartheid.org 212-727-8055 Association of Arab-American University Graduates New York, NY **Center for Immigrant Families** New York, NY ujvil@hotmail.com 212-531-3011 **CODEPINK NYC** New York, NY codepinknyc@gmail.com (212) 300-2397 **Columbia Students for Justice in Palestine** New York, NY columbiasjp@gmail.com (646) 600-0471 General Board of Global Ministries, The United Methodist Church New York, NY dwildman@gbgm-umc.org 212-870-3735 MADRE New York, NY madre@madre.org 212-627-0444 **United Methodist Kairos Response** New York, NY info@kairosresponse.org 585-313-8474 War Resisters League New York, NY wrl@warresisters.org 212-228-0450 ext. 12 Women in Black Union Square New York, NY mindygershon@nyc.rr.com 646-522-6411 Women's Division, General Board of Global Ministries, UMC New York, NY tatianadwyer@unitedmethodistwomen.org 212-682-3633 **Fellowship of Reconciliation** Nyack, NY mjohnson@forusa.org 845-358-4601

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WESPAC Foundation White Plains, NY info@wespac.org 914-449-6514
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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I served a copy of the foregoing document on:

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by mailing a copy thereof in a sealed, first-class postage prepaid envelope addressed to said attorney's last-known address and deposited in the U.S. mail at Seattle, WA or the date set forth below;
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by sending a copy thereof via overnight courier in a sealed, prepaid envelope, addressed to said attorney's last-known address on the date set forth below;
by faxing a copy thereof to said attorney at his/her last-known facsimile number on the date set forth below; or
by emailing a copy thereof to said attorney at his/her last-known email address as set forth above.
DATED this 15 day of December, 2011.
DAVIS WRIGHT TREMAINE LLP
By Rom Hant
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